

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

OHIO ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

HELD AT

P U T N A M,

ON THE

TWENTY-SECOND, TWENTY-THIRD, AND TWENTY-FOURTH OF APRIL,

1835.

BEAUMONT AND WALLACE, PRINTERS.

Gift of
J. M. Williams '39 C.D.

12065

MINUTES.

PROCEEDINGS of a Convention of Delegates, favorable to the immediate abolition of Slavery in the United States, without expatriation; assembled from various parts of the State of Ohio, at Putnam, in the county of Muskingum, on Wednesday, the 22d day of April, 1835.

At 2 o'clock, P. M., the convention was called to order by Col. Wm. Keys, of the county of Highlands, and on his motion Col. Robert Stewart, of Ross county, was chosen Chairman, pro tem., and Ralph M. Walker, of Portage, and Henry B. Stanton, of Hamilton counties, were chosen Secretaries, pro tem.

Prayer was then offered by the Rev. James H. Dickey.

The following notice, calling the convention, was read by the chair :

"The friends of the Abolition cause, in this State, have agreed upon a State Convention, to be held at Zanesville, on Wednesday, the 22d of April, commencing its session at 2, P. M. All persons who advocate the principle of immediate emancipation without expatriation, are invited to attend and take part in the proceedings."

The Chair then invited all gentlemen present who hold the doctrines and are friendly to the objects specified in the above notice, to enroll their names and take seats as members of the convention.

The following gentlemen then enrolled their names :

LIST OF DELEGATES.

ASHTABULA CO.
Rev. Eliphalet Austin,
Rev. Henry Cowles,
Alpheus Cowles,
A. Sillease.

BROWN.
Rev. Robert Rutherford,
John B. Mahan,
Rev. John Rankin,
Stephen Riggs,
Nathan Galbraith,

Abraham Pettijohn.
BUTLER.
Wm. H. Rogers,
Wm. S. Rogers.
BELMONT.
Rev. Jacob Coon.
CHAMPAIGN.
David S. Hollister.
COLUMBIANA.
Joseph Bailey,
Joseph A. Dugdale,

List of Delegates.

- James Hambleton.
CUYAHOGA.
Harmon Kingsbury, Esq.
FAYETTE.
- Rev. William Dickey,
Col. James Stewart,
Joseph S. Gillespie, Esq.
William A. Ustick,
James T. Claypoole, Esq.
Hugh Ghormley.
GEAUGA.
Ansel Bridgeman,
Jonathan M. Tracy,
Timothy B. Hudson,
Chiles T. Blakesley.
HARRISON.
- Rev. William Sloan,
William Lewis,
James Wallace,
Hugh Stevenson,
Robert Vanhorn.
HAMILTON.
- Rev. Horace Bushnell,
George Clark,
William Poe,
Theodore D. Weld,
John T. Pierce,
Benjamin Basset,
S. W. Streeter,
Henry B. Stanton,
Huntington Lyman,
George Whipple.
CINCINNATI.
- Augustus Wattles,
William Holyoke,
John Melindy,
William Donaldson,
HIGHLANDS.
- Rev. Samuel Crothers,
Col. William Keys,
Samuel Smith,
Col. Thomas Rodgers,
Joseph G. Wilson,
James A. Nelson.
HOCKING.
- Rev. Luke Dewitt,
LICKING.
- Isaac Whitehead,
Dr. William W. Bancroft,
Samuel H. Ward,
Joseph Linnell,
William Whitney,
William S. Roberts.
LORAIN.
- Rev. John Monteith.
MEDINA.
Charles Olcott, Esq.
- Timothy Hudson, Esq.
MORGAN.
Stephen H. Guthrie,
Hiram Wilson.
MUSKINGUM.
- Levi Whipple,
Joseph Shepard,
Horace Nye,
Henry C. Howells,
William Wiley,
Albert G. Allen,
John Lewis,
Albert A. Guthrie,
Dr. James C. Brown,
Thomas Tresize,
William F. Hunt,
Rev. John Wallace,
David Wallace,
Mathew Gillespie,
John Sheward,
Hiram McFarland,
Rev. John Hunt,
John Jamison,
Moses Wiley,
John Wiley, Jr.,
David Warner.
PERRY.
- James Huston,
M. B. Cushing.
PICKAWAY.
- Rev. Robert V. Rogers,
Dr. James B. Finley.
PIKE.
- Rev. Gamaliel C. Beaman.
PORTAGE.
- Elizur Wright, Esq.,
Greenberry Keen,
Asahel Kilborn,
Ralph M. Walker,
Rev. Benjamin Fenn,
Rev. William Beardsley,
Philo Wright,
T. H. Barr.
ROSS.
- Rev. James H. Dickey,
George Brown,
Rev. William Gage,
Rev. Hugh S. Fullerton,
Rev. James Dunlap,
Col. Robert Stewart,
James Johnson.
STARK.
- Abraham Baer.
TRUMBULL.
- Rev. Alvan Coe,
C. H. Bidwell,
James Loughhead.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

JAMES G. BIRNEY, Esq. *Danville, Kentucky.*
JAMES A. THOME, *Augusta, Kentucky.*
WILLIAM T. ALLAN, *Huntsville, Alabama.*
EBENEZER MARTIN, *Washington Co. New-York.*

On motion of A. A. Guthrie, of Muskingum, the following committee was appointed by the chair to nominate officers for the convention :

A. A. Guthrie, Wm. Dickey, James Loughhead, Theodore D. Weld, John B. Mahan, Wm. Poe, and W. W. Bancroft.

The committee reported the following list of officers, and the report was adopted :

Col. ROBERT STEWART, of Ross county, *President*.

Hon. ELIZUR WRIGHT, of Portage co., *Vice President*.

Col. WM. KEYS, of Highlands co. *2d Vice President*.

Henry B. Stanton, of Hamilton,	} <i>Secretaries.</i>
Timothy Hudson, of Medina,	
James T. Claypool, of Fayette,	

On motion of Col. Keys, *Resolved*, That James G. Birney, Esq. of Kentucky, be invited to take a seat as a corresponding member of this convention.

On invitation of the chair, Mr. Birney took his seat, and addressed the convention.

On motion, *Resolved*, That James A. Thome, of Kentucky, and William T. Allan, of Alabama, be invited to seats in the convention, as corresponding members.

On motion of Mr. Cushing, of Perry county, a committee of arrangements of seven members, to prepare and bring forward business for the convention, was appointed by the chair, as follows :

Messrs. James G. Birney, James Stewart, Theodore D. Weld, and Harmon Kingsbury, and the Rev. Messrs. Henry Cowles, R. V. Rogers and John Rankin.

The committee, by Mr. Birney their chairman, reported as follows :

1. That the sessions of the convention be opened with prayer.
2. That a committee be appointed to draft a declaration of the sentiments of this convention on the subject of slavery.
3. Also a committee to draft a constitution, of a state Anti-Slavery Society.
4. A committee to draft resolutions.
5. A committee to prepare an address to the churches.
6. A committee to draft a petition to Congress, for the abolition of slavery, and the slave trade, in the District of Columbia.
7. A committee to report on the condition of the colored population in this state.
8. A committee to consider and report, on the laws of the state of Ohio, with reference to the colored population within its limits.
9. A committee to prepare a report on the American Slave trade.
10. A committee to nominate delegates to represent this convention at the meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, to be held in the city of New-York in May next.
11. That the above committees be composed of seven members each, and be appointed by the chair.

The report was adopted, and the following gentlemen appointed to the respective committees.

1. Declaration of Sentiment, Messrs Weld, Fenn, Kingsbury, Austin, Gillespie, Bancroft, and William Dickey.

2. Constitution. Messrs. Cowles, Timothy Hudson, W. S. Rogers, J. S. Wilson, Ghormley, Bailey, and Kilbourn.

3. Resolutions, Messrs. Birney, Walker, Loughhead, George Brown, Coe, Dunlap, and Mahan.

4. Address to the churches, Messrs. Crothers, Monteith R. V. Rogers, Fullerton, Elizur Wright, Finley, and Cushing.

5. Petition to Congress, Messrs. Walker, Thomas Rogers, Nelson, Whitney, Beaman, Ustick and Howells.

6. Condition of the colored population, Messrs. Lyman, Wattles, Wallace, Rutherford, Pettijohn, A. Baer, Jr. and T. H. Barr.

7. Laws of Ohio, Messrs. Keys, Rankin, Bidwell, Olcott, Gage, Whitehead, and Beardsley.

8. American Slave trade, Messrs Fenn, James H. Dickey, Stanton, Dugdale, Hambleton, A. G. Allen and DeWitt.

9. To nominate delegates, Messrs. Philo Wright, Galbraith, Coon, Riggs, W. H. Rogers, Levi Whipple, and Nye.

Adjourned to to-morrow morning at 8 o'clock.

Thursday morning, 8 o'clock.

The Convention was called to order.

The President in the Chair.

Prayer by the Rev. Mr. Gage.

On motion of Mr. Dugdale, Ebenezer Martin of Washington Co. N. Y. was invited to a seat as a corresponding member of the Convention.

The committee on resolutions, by Mr. Birney, their chairman, made a report which after being slightly amended, was adopted in the words following, viz :

Resolved, 1st. That this Convention do immediately proceed to form a State Anti-Slavery Society.

Resolved, 2d. That this Convention acting under a sense of dependence on Almighty God for the accomplishment of the object they have assembled to promote, do affectionately and earnestly recommend to the Christian Church throughout the land to observe the last Monday evening of each month as a concert of prayer in behalf of the enslaved and of the free people of color.

Resolved, 3d. That the fountains of knowledge, like those of salvation should be open to every creature, and that we regard those laws which prevent or restrict the education of the people of color, bond or free, as pre-eminently cruel, impious and disgraceful to a Christian State or Nation.

Resolved, 4th. That this Convention believe that orderly and industrious conduct—the intellectual, moral and religious improvement of the free people of color in this State and elsewhere, will greatly promote the cause of freedom. Our aim therefore will be to aid them in their attempt at meritorious elevation.

Resolved, 5th. That this Convention believe, that patience, submission and good conduct on the part of the slaves, not only to such masters as are "good and gentle" but also to the "froward" are highly important to the successful inculcation of its principles, and to the ultimate, entire, and peaceful acquisition of those inalienable rights that are now withheld from them.

Resolved, 6th. That the Christian Church is eminently criminal in the indulgence she has shown to the acknowledged sin of slave holding—and her ministers and rulers pre-eminently so, in admitting to her sacred offices and privileges those who live in the pen and continued perpetration of this sin.

Resolved, 7th. That as all oppression is hateful in the sight of God, the Christian

Church, by her acknowledged obligations, stands pledged to use her most earnest efforts for the extermination of slavery—its most aggravated form.

Resolved, 8th. That in the opinion of this Convention, those teachers of religion who neglect to lift a warning voice against the oppressions that are done in this land in the enslaving of one sixth part of its population, do not declare the whole counsel of God, and fail in one important branch of their appropriate duties.

Resolved, 9th. That the laws and customs which withhold the Bible from a large portion of the native population of this country, are inconsistent with the first principles of religious liberty—and that any plan of religious instruction for the slaves which pretends to be adequate, while withholding the Bible, is undeserving the confidence and patronage of the Christian public and furnishes a dangerous precedent, tending to render insecure the religious liberties of the American people.

Resolved, 10th. That slave holding by professors of religion—their acknowledging it to be sinful before God, whilst they yet attempt to palliate it by his word, draws upon them the scorn of the impenitent, slanders the Bible, and erects a most formidable barrier to the progress of the Redeemers Kingdom in our land.

Resolved, 11th. As the sense of this Convention, that if professors of religion would at once obey God's command—"Let the oppressed go free"—and "break"—casting away as utterly unfit for future use—"every yoke" which they themselves have either fitted or continued upon their neighbors, slavery would speedily be brought to a termination.

Resolved, 12th. In connexion with the last resolution, as the solemn and deliberate conviction of this Convention, that the sin of *continued* slavery in our land, will rest mainly on the members of God's visible church.

Resolved, 13th. That the practice, by no means uncommon, of persons going from the free into the slave states, and there becoming the owners and holders of slaves, for filthy lucre's sake, is, in our judgement exceedingly criminal; involving those who do it in deeper guilt than rests on those who have been born and educated in the midst of slavery and merits the unqualified condemnation of all friends of liberty and religion.

Resolved, 14th. That the members of this Convention whilst they labor by argument and motive to persuade those who hold their fellow creatures in bondage, to loose the bands of slavery—do entertain with no favor any plan of amalgamation between the white and colored people.

Resolved, 15th. As the sense of this Convention, that the illicit amalgamation of color, which has ensued from African Slavery every where, and has already made such shameful progress in the slave holding portion of our country, would be greatly arrested by allowing the slaves to feel that dignity of character which liberty and the protection of equal laws naturally create.

Resolved, 16th. As the opinion of this Convention that prejudice is vincible, and it is not necessary in order to promote the highest happiness and improvement of the colored people of this country to transport them to Africa or any other place.

Resolved, 17th. That this Convention entertain a desire no less strong than that of their fellow Christians in this country for the Christianization of Africa, and believing this great object can be best effected by operations purely of a Missionary character, do therefore object to all aid that may be sought in the power of commercial colonies, and military stations.

Resolved, 18th. As the sense of this Convention, that the removal from the United States to Africa of "*moral, temperate, and industrious*" emigrants from amongst our colored population—so long as *morality, temperance, and industry* are considered *here*, as insufficient, of themselves, to constitute *Christian character*—will have no tendency to *Christianize* the nations of that continent.

Resolved, 19th. That the cause of abolition eminently deserves the countenance and support of American females, inasmuch as one million of their colored sisters are pining in abject servitude without the protection of law; and that all the ladies of the State are respectfully and earnestly invited by this Convention, to form Anti-Slavery Societies in every County and town within its limits and that it be recommended to them to circulate tracts and addresses calculated to awaken a slumbering people.

Mr. Weld from the committee on the Declaration of Sentiment, presented the following report which was adopted.

DECLARATION OF SENTIMENT.

The undersigned citizens of the state of Ohio having assembled in convention for the purpose of organizing a State Ant-Slavery Society, avail themselves of the opportunity thus afforded to make an exposition

of their sentiments upon the subject of Slavery and the means which they deem necessary for its removal.

1st. We believe Slavery to be a sin—always, every where, and only sin. Sin in itself, apart from the occasional rigors incidental to its administration and from all those perils, liabilities, and positive inflictions to which its victims are continually exposed, sin in the nature of the act which creates it, and in the elements which constitute it. Sin, because it converts persons into things; makes men property, God's image, merchandise. Because it forbids men to use themselves for the advancement of their own well being, and turns them into mere instruments to be used by others solely for the benefit of the users. Because it constitutes one man the owner of the body, soul and spirit of other men—gives him power and permission to make his own pecuniary profit the great end of their being, thus striking them out of existence as beings possessing rights and susceptibilities of happiness, and forcing them to exist merely as appendages to his own existence. In other words, because slavery *holds and uses men, as mere means for the accomplishment of ends, of which ends their own interests are not a part,*—thus annihilating the sacred and eternal distinction between a person and a thing, a distinction proclaimed an axiom by all human consciousness—a distinction created by God,—crowned with glory and honor in the attributes of intelligence, morality, accountability and immortal existence and commended to the homage of universal mind, by the concurrent testimony of nature, conscience, providence and revelation, by the blood of atonement and the sanctions of eternity (authenticated by the seal of Deity and in its own nature, effaceless and immutable.) This distinction, slavery contemns, disannuls and tramples under foot. This is its fundamental element,—its vital constituent principle, that which makes it a sin *in itself* under whatever modification existing. All the incidental effects of the system flow spontaneously from this fountain-head. The constant exposure of slaves to outrage and the actual inflictions which they experience in innumerable forms, all result legitimately from this principle, assumed in the theory and embodied in the practice of slave holding.

What is that but a SIN which sinks to the level of brutes, beings ranked and registered by God a little lower than the angels—wrests from their rightful owners the legacies which their maker has bequeathed them—inalienable birthright endowments exchanged for no equivalent, unsundered by volition and unforfeited by crime—breaks open the sanctuary of human rights and makes its sacred things common plunder, driving to the shambles Jehovah's image, herded with four footed beasts and creeping things, and bartering for vile dust the purchase of a Redeemer's blood, and the living members of his body? What is that but a sin, which derides the sanctity with which God has invested domestic relations, annihilates marriage, makes void parental authority, nullifies filial obligation, invites the violation of chastity by denying it legal protection, thus bidding God speed to lust as it riots at noon-day, glorying in the immunities of law? What is that but a sin which stamps as crime obedience to the command "search the Scriptures," repeals the law of love, abrogates the golden rule, ex-

acts labor without recompense, authorizes the forcible Sunderings of kindred and cut off forever from the pursuit of happiness?—What is that but a sin which embargoes the acquisition of knowledge by the terror of penalties, eclipses intellect, stifles the native instincts of the heart, precipitates in death-damps the upward aspirations of the spirit, startles its victims with present perils, peoples the future with apprehended horrors, palsies the moral sense, overwhelms hope in despair and kills the soul?

2d. The influences of slavery upon slave-holders and the slave states are an abiding sense of insecurity and dread—the press cowering under a censorship, freedom of speech struck dumb by prescription, a standing army of patrols to awe down insurrection, the mechanic arts and all vigorous enterprise crushed under an incubus, a thriftless agriculture smiting the land with barrenness and decay, industry held up to scorn, idleness a badge of dignity, profligacy no barrier to favour, lust emboldened by impunity, concubinage encouraged by premium, the high price of the mixed race operating as a bounty upon amalgamation, prodigality in lavishing upon the rich the plundered earnings of the poor accounted high souled generosity, revenge regarded as the refinement of honor, aristocracy entitled republicanism, and despotism chivalry, sympathy,—deadened by scenes of cruelty rendered familiar, female amiableness transformed into fury by habits of despotic sway; conscience smothered by its own unheeded monitions, manhood effeminated by loose reigned indulgence, and a pervading degeneracy of morals and manners, resulting from a state of society, where power has no restraint, and the weak have none to succour.

3d. Slavery has framed and incorporated into the very structure of society, a system of antagonist relations, fomenting jealousies between different sections, distracting our public councils with the conflict of warring interests, weakening our national energies, and imminently jeopardizing our national existence. It has desecrated our federal city, smitten with its leprosy our national temple, turned its sacred courts into human shambles, and provided seats for them that sell men. It is at war with the genius of our government and divides it against itself. It scoffs at our national declaration, brands us with hypocrisy before the nations, paralyses the power of our free institutions at home, makes them a hissing and a bye-word abroad, and shouts our shame in the ears of the world.

4th. What are the blessings that slavery has conferred upon the church in return for its Christian baptism and its hearty welcome to the communion of the saints. It revokes the command of her Lord “Go ye into *all* the world and preach the gospel to *every* creature.” It builds anew and sanctifies the heathen barrier of caste, and while her prayers and her alms traverse oceans to find heathen in the ends of the earth, it shuts up her bowels against the heathen at her own door, and of her own creation; and as if to make the church the derision of scoffers, it grants her special indulgence to make heathen at home for her own benefit, provided by way of penance she contributes a tithe of the profit for the conversion of heathen abroad.

It makes her sacrifices a vain oblation, her Redeemer the minister

of sin, terrible things in righteousness the answer to her prayers, and canopies the heavens above her with portents of coming judgments which now for a long time linger not. It accounts her shepherds blameless as they traffic in the lambs of the flock, while round about Zion lamentation and wailing mingle with her songs, the daughters of Jerusalem weeping for their children, and refusing to be comforted because they are not.

THIS IS SLAVERY—slavery as it exists to-day, sheltered under the wings of our national eagle, republican law its protector, republican equality its advocate, republican morality its patron, freemen its body guard, the church its city of refuge, and the sanctuary of God and the very horns of the altar its inviolable asylum. Against this whole system in itself, and in its appendages, in its intrinsic principles, and in its external relations, we do with one accord, in the name of humanity and eternal right, record our utter detestation and enter our solemn protest. Slavery being *sin* we maintain that it is the duty of all who perpetrate it immediately to cease; in other words that immediate emancipation is the sacred right of the slaves and the imperative duty of their masters.

By immediate emancipation we do *not* mean that the slaves shall be deprived of employment and turned loose to roam as vagabonds. We do *not* mean that they shall be immediately put in possession of *all* political privileges any more than foreigners before naturalization or native citizens not qualified to vote, nor that they shall be expelled from their native country as the price and condition of their freedom. But we *do* mean that instead of being under the unlimited control of a few irresponsible masters, they shall receive the protection of law, that they shall be employed as free labourers, fairly compensated and protected in their earnings, that they shall have secured to them the right to obtain secular and religious knowledge, and to worship God according to his word. We maintain that the slaves belong to themselves, that they have a right to their own bodies and minds, and to their own earnings; that husbands have a right to their wives, and wives to their husbands; that parents have a right to their children and children to their parents, and that he who plunders them of these rights, commits high handed robbery and is *sacredly* bound at once and utterly to cease. We maintain that every master ought immediately to stop buying and selling men, women and children, immediately to stop holding and using them as property, immediately to stop robbing them of inalienable rights which they have never forfeited. In a word we say to the master, it is your duty to emancipate your slave immediately, that is, to stop taking away from the slave *those things which belong to him* and to leave him unmolested in the possession of his body and soul, his earnings, his wife and his children, as you are in the possession of your body and soul, your earnings, your wife and children.

PLAN OF OPERATIONS.

We shall seek to effect the destruction of slavery, not by exciting discontent in the minds of the slaves, not by instigating outrage, not by the physical force of the free states, not by the interference of Con-

the spirit and plenteous redemption. His word has gone out of his mouth, "For the oppression of the poor and for the sighing of the needy, now will I arise, saith the Lord, I will set him in safety from him that puffeth at him." His wisdom is our guide, his power our defence, his truth our weapon, his spirit our comforter, his promise the anchor of our soul, his approval our exceeding great reward, and his blessing upon our past labors a sure presage of the glory to be revealed in the triumphs of a redemption which already draweth nigh. Solemnly consecrated to the cause of **EMANCIPATION, IMMEDIATE, TOTAL, AND UNIVERSAL**, we subscribe our names to this Declaration. The principles which it embodies we will, by the grace of God, forever cherish and fearlessly avow, come life or death. We may perish, but they shall endure.

NAMES OF SIGNERS.

Robert Stewart,
Elizur Wright,
William Keys,
Levi Whipple,
Nathan Galbraith,
William Dickey,
William Donaldson,
George Whipple,
Alvan Coc,
Joseph G. Wilson,
Albert A. Guthrie,
John Melendy,
Jonathan M. Tracy,
Augustus Wattles,
James H. Dickey,
Benjamin Fenn,
James Stewart,
Lock Wheaton,
William Wylie,
Stephen R. Riggs,
L. H. Parker,
William A. Ustick,
Joseph Linnel,
John Monticeth,
Thomas H. Barr,
E. N. Bartlet,
Ansel Bridgman,
Timothy B. Hudson,
William S. Rogers,
William Sloane,
A. F. Merriam,
Daniel Warner,
Albert G. Allen,
Nathan Gillespie,
Benjamin Bassett,
John Hunt,
Milton B. Cushing,
Hugh S. Fullerton,
Hugh Ghormley,
William W. Bancroft,
Philo Wright,
Uriah T. Chamberlain,
James T. Claypoole,
Joseph A. Dugdale,
Henry B. Stanton,

James Hambleton,
Eliphalet Austin,
Timothy Hudson,
Asahel Kilbourn,
James Johnson,
Theodore D. Weld,
Abraham Pettyjohn,
John B. Mahan,
Robert Van Horn,
Samuel Smith,
H. Wilson,
James Durlap,
Huntington Lyman,
Sammel Crothers,
Sammel H. Ward,
Henry Cowles,
William Gage,
John Jamison,
Martin L. Fitch,
John Rankin,
John T. Pierce,
Harmon Kingsbury,
David S. Hollister,
James A. Nelson,
James Loughhead,
William Lewis,
Greenbury Keen,
Henry C. Howells,
Thomas Tresize,
James C. Brown,
Asahel Case,
James B. Finley,
Charles Olcott,
Hugh Stevenson,
Joseph Sheppard,
James Wallace,
Saml. Smith,
Joseph S. Gillespie,
George Clark,
Jacob Coon,
Robert Rutherford,
Luke De Witt,
George Brown,
Benjamin Folts,
Serenio W. Streeter

Chiles T. Blakeslee,
William H. Rogers,
William Beardsley,
William Whitney,
James A. Thome,
Gamaliel C. Beaman,
Abraham Baer, Jun.
William S. Roberts,
William T. Allan,
Isaac Whitehead,
James Dunlap,
John S. Lewis,
Stephen H. Guthrie,

William Holyoke,
Robert Vashon Rogers,
Alpheus Cowles,
Horace Bushnell,
Horace Nye,
William Poe,
David Wallace,
Thomas Rogers,
George Helmick,
Joseph Bailey,
C. H. Bidwell,
Ralph M. Walker,
John Wallace.

The committee to prepare a constitution for a State Anti-slavery Society, reported by Rev. Mr. Cowles, their Chairman, and after a slight amendment, it was adopted.

CONSTITUTION

OF THE OHIO ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

ART. 1. This Society shall be called, "The Ohio Anti-Slavery Society," and shall be auxiliary to the American Anti-Slavery Society.

ART. 2. The object of this Society, shall be the entire abolition of Slavery throughout the United States, and the elevation of our colored brethren to their proper rank as men. While it admits that the several States and Congress have, by our Federal constitution, the exclusive right to legislate for the abolition of slavery in their respective limits, it maintains that it is our imperative duty, to collect and diffuse information on the subject of slavery, and by all lawful means to convince our fellow citizens throughout the Union, that Slavery is in all circumstances a sin against God and His revealed law,—at war with the fundamental principles of our own liberty, and ruinous to our national morals and prosperity; and that therefore the duty, safety and interest of all concerned, require its utter and immediate abolition.

ART. 3. The officers of this Society shall be a President, Vice-Presidents, one Corresponding and one Recording Secretary, a Treasurer, and a board of Managers, composed of the above officers, and not less than twenty other members of the society, all of whom shall be annually elected, and five shall constitute a quorum.

ART. 4. The Board of Managers shall annually elect from their own body, an Executive Committee to consist of not less than five, nor more than nine members, who shall for the present be located in Muskingum County.

This committee shall have power to fill any vacancy in their own body, employ agents, direct the Treasurer in the application of all monies, and call special meetings of the society. They shall make arrangements for an annual meeting of the Society, assigning its time and place, at which they shall make an annual written report of their doings, the income, expenditures, and funds of the Society; shall hold stated meetings, and adopt the most energetic measures in their power to advance the objects of the Society.

ART. 5. The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society,

in his absence, one of the Vice-Presidents, or in their absence, a President pro tem. The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the Society. The Recording Secretary shall notify all meetings of the Society, and of the executive committee, and shall keep records of the same in separate books. The Treasurer shall collect the subscriptions, make payments at the direction of the executive committee, and present a written and audited account to accompany the annual report.

ART. 6. Any person who approves of this Constitution and is not a slave-holder, may become a member of this Society, on subscribing his name, or requesting it to be done by the Secretary.

ART. 7. Any Anti-Slavery Society in this state, founded on the same principles, may become auxiliary to this Society.

The committee to prepare an address to the Churches, made a report through the Rev. Mr. Monteith, their chairman, which after being slightly amended was adopted.

TO MINISTERS OF THE GOSPEL, AND MEMBERS OF THE CHURCH OF CHRIST IN OHIO.

DEAR BRETHREN IN CHRIST,

As advocates of the oppressed African race, we have a special appeal to present to your serious consideration. We presume not to instruct you, or to make you acquainted with the doctrines of scripture, of which you are ignorant. But you are well aware, that it is a characteristic of humanity, to be influenced by prevailing sentiment—to admit premises without examination, and to settle down upon conclusions, which deserve no better name than prejudice. We are far from denouncing as unchristian, those who are under the unhappy influence, but who are ready, honestly and candidly, to investigate the subject. How many great names have been arrayed against every attempt at reformation? While station and office are to be treated with all due respect, we are not to give them the respect which is due to God alone, or to suffer them to blind our eyes to human fallibility and prejudice. It is sometimes said that the Churches in the north are in no way responsible for the oppression of the colored race. But let not Christians throw off responsibilities which the Providence of God has thrown upon them. It is not to be expected that other citizens will take the lead of Christians in the great work of reform. These latter are denominated a city set on a hill, which cannot be hid. Their language and conduct are usually accepted as the interpretation of the word of God,—they must answer for the correctness of it at the tribunal of Jehovah. Their skirts can never cease to be stained by the blood of the perishing, until they have faithfully and perseveringly borne their testimony against this enormous sin. It must also be recollected that the Christian Churches of this state are connected in their respective denominations with their sister churches in the slave-holding states. You therefore are not only responsible as citi-

zens of the United States, for the existence of slaves within the jurisdiction of Congress, but for the participation in the sin, directly chargeable on your fellow Christians in the South. On the whole it can hardly be doubted that a decided and uniform expression of abhorrence of slavery from the Churches in the North, would be speedily followed by the extinction of the evil. We cannot therefore but shudder at the thought, that you should in any instance be standing on the wrong side of the question, lest like the Priest and the Levite you should merely look at a perishing fellow man and pass by on the other side, and leave the reward of well doing to some humble Samaritan. The perishing are sufficiently near you; they are within your reach, and you have it in your power to apply the effectually remedy. You can reform public sentiment; you have done it with regard to the subject of temperance—you can send your missionaries to the most hostile nations, and over the ramparts of the Celestial Empire, you have done it, and we trust you will not neglect and disregard the cries of millions of oppressed poor who lie at your own door.

Look at the condition of these people—look at three millions of those who bear Gods image, cast out from society, oppressed by severe and cruel laws, deprived of the benefits of education, slandered in their character, abused by keen reproaches, and denied to a good extent the ordinary means of pursuing happiness. We would call your attention particularly to the practical bearing of the subject on the cause of religion. For this purpose we shall give you an extract from a pamphlet published a little more than a year ago, by order of the synod of South Carolina and Georgia.—“Our knowledge of their moral degradation is limited, because we have not carefully inquired into it, and consequently our Christian sympathies are not yet awakened in their behalf. To extend our view beyond our bounds, who would credit it, that in these years of revival and benevolent efforts, in this Christian Republic, there are over two millions of human beings in the condition of heathen, and in some respects in a *worse condition*, and if we include the whole population, almost entirely neglected. These are astounding truths—and truths to be confessed with fear and contrition.”

This is the confession of candid slave holders, and intelligent men in the midst of a slave population. They acknowledge that their Christian sympathies are not awake, because they have not carefully inquired into the condition of this people. This is a fact worthy of deep attention, that intelligent men, who have breathed the atmosphere of slavery all their days, have hardly thought of the condition of these distressed people. How does familiarity with evil blind the eyes, and blunt the moral sensibilities! How necessary that other Christians, without the sphere of this corrupting influence, should espouse the cause of the oppressed.

Let us see what the same men say of the influence of slavery on the whites. “The influence,” say they, “of the negroes upon the moral and religious interests of the whites, is destructive in the extreme. We cannot go into especial detail. It is unnecessary. We

make our appeal to universal experience. We are chained to a putrid carcase—it sickens and destroys us. We have a millstone hanging about the neck of our society, to sink us deep in the sea of vice. Our children are corrupting from their infancy, nor can we prevent it. Many an anxious parent, like the missionaries in Foreign lands, wishes that his children could be brought up beyond the reach of the influence of the depraved heathen. Nor is this influence confined to mere childhood. If that were all, it would be tremendous. But it follows us into youth, into manhood, and into old age. In all our intercourse with them, [the slaves] we are undergoing a process of intellectual and moral deterioration; and it requires almost superhuman effort to maintain a high standing either for intelligence or piety.” It would seem from this statement, that the whites themselves in the South, are sinking under the evils of slavery, and at the same time under the influence of an awful stupor. Can any one then imagine that the southern people possess either disposition or energy to remove slavery? Do not these facts cry aloud for your interposition. Look more closely at the moral nature of slavery. Does it not grossly violate the moral law in almost every precept. Does it not forbid men to love their neighbor as themselves? So the Apostle James represents all respect of persons and he contrasts this partiality with the requisition of the moral law, thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. To say that slavery is a sin, is a feeble expression of its real character. It is full of sin, and fosters and promotes the violation of every precept of Gods law—it is evil, and only evil continually. Shall we then hold a parley with this monster, and continue to yield it our patronage? Shall we continue to substitute it for civil authority, and even for Christianity, and consider it the best means of promoting the happiness of the ignorant part of our population?

“ Shall we, whose souls are lighted with wisdom from on high?
Shall we to men benighted, the lamp of life deny?”

Can any thing be more preposterous, more unchristian, and more cruel, than violently to withhold from our neighbor the means of knowledge, and then because he is ignorant and depraved keep him in chains till such time as he may be qualified for freedom? The Bible grants to us no discretionary powers with respect to the pursuit of sin. Repentance—immediate repentance is the imperative duty in every case of sin. No teacher of religion has any authority to grant indulgence from any supposed convenience or benefit arising from them, and every palliative applied to slavery is an indulgence to commit more sin.

It is admitted on all hands, that there is a very extensive prejudice against the colored race, which prevents their freedom and their elevation, and it seems by some to be thought unavoidable. “ In every nation he that feareth God, and worketh righteousness is accepted of him.” Prejudice is always sinful, and especially when the means of removing it are at hand, and when its effects are deeply and extensively injurious. This prejudice is not invincible, for many have already

overcome it. Adequate information, and a Christian temper will destroy it. It implies ill will to our neighbor, and is therefore incompatible with the law of love. The removal of this prejudice implies neither an admiration of color, nor complacency in character—it only implies that love which we ought to bear to *every human being*, a disposition to do justice, and to do him good.

Perhaps you may ask, what can we do as ministers and Christians.

Permit us then to suggest that you can 1st, investigate the subject, and inquire honestly whether you are doing all that you can and ought to do for the removal of this bane from the church and from our land. 2. Diffuse information every where. Introduce the subject on all proper occasions into conversation, and into public instruction, and let the light of truth beam upon this sink of abomination, till every one concerned is ashamed and disgusted with the loathsome evil. 3. Let the Churches be purified. Let no slave holder be a member of any church. Let no slave holding ministers or other members of the church, be invited to a participation in its ordinances. Let slavery be uniformly ranked with the most heinous sins. 4. You can exert your influence as citizens to have repealed the severe and oppressive laws which are in force in this state, in relation to people of color. You can also petition Congress, for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, in concert with the multitudes who are resolved to persevere with importunity till the petition is granted. 5. You can make this a subject of incessant prayer, beseeching God to remove obstacles out of the way—to bring oppressors to repentance, and to cause his own word to be known by all the inhabitants of our land.

Moreover we would urge you in the language of the apostle to “remember them that are in bonds as bound with them.” Consider the momentous results which will follow the course you take. By your consistent and united efforts you will assuredly succeed in banishing slavery from the land; by connivance and indifference, you rivet the chains of the bondsman more firmly. Two millions of heathen will throw themselves at your feet for instruction, and a million of white Americans will be raised from a gulf of pollution and be rendered acceptable to the purifying influence of the gospel. The Bible can then reach the degraded negro, and he too will learn the wonderful works of God. If this work of benevolence be not done soon, the opportunity may be lost forever. If you give not the negro the Bible, others are ready to offer him and his master, a religion without the Bible. Another motive should awaken the feelings of the churches. The sin of slavery is a great national sin, and all who do not cordially oppose it, will be set down by our judge, as its abettors and accessories. And besides every Christian is put to his oath. “We must declare the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth.” His declaration must be explicit and honest, or he perjures himself. Judgment must be executed, and it must begin at the house of God. Nay, it has already begun. The fasts of the Churches are not accompanied with tokens of divine acceptance. For the fast that God chooses, is to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, “and that every yoke be broken.” Without

these conditions the churches may expect the blessing of Heaven in vain. Judgments are already gathering over this guilty land—this land of robbery and oppression, and unless prevented by speedy repentance they will whelm us in ruin, and there will be more to deliver."

THE Committee to whom was refered the condition of the People of Color, in this State, by Mr. Lyman, their chairman, presented the following

REPORT:

That it is impossible, from the limited materials which we have been able to collect, to present to this Convention a satisfactory view of the condition of this people as a whole; but, we have been able to obtain a very full account of their circumstances in Cincinnati, and in Brown county; and as these united, are believed to constitute nearly one half of the Colored People in the state, and moreover, as among them are found all the circumstances which can be supposed to modify their social, moral, and intellectual character, we think we may with confidence adopt the information respecting *these*, as the basis of our opinions respecting the whole class.

The estimate which we make of the number of Colored People in this state is only an approximation to the truth. We set down their number at 7500, of whom one third or 2500 are in Cincinnati—700 in two settlements in Brown county, and the remaining 4300 scattered in the principle towns in this state.

A majority of the adults it is supposed were born in slavery. Many of them have gained their freedom by paying for themselves the market value.

The statement of the fact that they were so born and trained, will serve instead of a volume, to inform this Convention what must be their condition. As a class we find them ignorant—many of them intemperate and vicious. Intemperance, gaming, and lewdness are the vices prevalent among them where they are located, near the navigable waters and great thoroughfares of commerce.

In order to determine their relative condition when compared with white people, we need a standard which does not exist. We must find a class of citizens who like them have been systematically deprived of instruction in science—who have been denied the protection of law, debarred the pursuit of lucrative employment—who have never felt the magnet influence which a hope of elevation in society exerts in others, drawing them out to effort in the field of honorable emulation. But as we have on such class among us, we must compare them with the lowest class of our white population. If we could select from our white population those who have been abandoned of their parents to the influence of every vile example, and left to the unrestrained pursuit of every vile indulgence, still we should have a class who were more eligibly circumstanced than the Colored People. Great injustice is done them by comparing them with the whole community, and pronouncing a condemnation upon them as vicious and degraded, beyond remedy, from the data thus unfairly gained.

There are some peculiarities about the Colored People which we think it proper to notice. They endure with more patience the scorn and wrong under which they are pressed down—are more grateful for the favors which they receive—more tractable than persons of like information and intelligence among the whites. In addition to this, we have inquired, and do not know of an exception to this remark,—they are all anxious to have their children taught and to learn themselves, and are willing to pay for instruction.

They have churches of their own in several places, as Cincinnati, Chillicothe, Zanesville, Stark, and Brown counties.

We regret that instead of seeking to gain freeholds, and depend upon farming for a subsistence, they congregate in towns and become day laborers, barbers, and menial servants.

The cause of temperance has lately made encouraging progress among them, though its influence by no means predominates. In a settlement in Stark County, where there are 300 colored people, mostly farmers, twenty men own farms of from twenty to thirty acres each,—they have a meeting-house and school-house, and abstain, with few exceptions, from intoxicating drinks. The information which we have gained concerning this settlement, shows them to be most orderly and exemplary citizens.

Sixteen years ago, Mr. Guess, an English gentleman, released by will a large family of slaves, concerning whom Gov. Trimble, then in Virginia, wrote to his friends in Ohio "that the most vicious and degraded family of blacks in Virginia were coming to reside among them," and provided land for them in Brown county. Their location is known by the designation "The Camps" upper and lower; they now number 700. A school has been sustained for eight months in the upper settlement, and is now suspended for lack of funds. The success was encouraging. A temperance society exists among them of thirty members.

The heads of families have all been slaves. Their land is poor and wet, and holds out no inducement to cultivate it. Consequently the young men and women seek employment in steam-boats, where they contract bad habits, and returning, exert an influence to viciate the morals of their settlement. These settlements, even in their degradation, furnish evidence that little fear is to be entertained on the score of amalgamation, where law protects chastity. In the sixteen years since their settlement, only two mulatto children have been born among this population.

The laws of the State, beside many other injurious discriminations, shut them out from the school fund, and hedge up their way to those more lucrative and mental employments which are open to others.

Notwithstanding this, we find among this people, a latent intellect, not a whit behind that of white citizens, a docility and readiness to be benefited which invites effort in their behalf, and a state of morals, discouraging indeed to those who look to mere human agency to correct and elevate; but full of the highest stimulus to those whose confidence is in God and the power of his gospel.

The Anti-Slavery Society, late of Lane Seminary, appointed a Committee in March last, to inquire into the condition of the Colored People of Cincinnati. For the following statement, exhibiting the result of their investigation, we are indebted to them. Mr. Wattles, whose personal examination secured the facts here stated, is the superintendent of the colored schools in that city.

Statement in regard to Cincinnati.

In the spring of 1829, an effort was made to enlist the citizens of Cincinnati in the plan of removing the free people of color from the United States. This effort was vigorous and protracted. What-ever were the *motives* which prompted the effort its particular *effect* was to excite the powerful against the weak, to countenance the lowest class of the whites in persecuting the victims of public scorn and contempt.

The township trustees issued a *proclamation* that every colored man who did not fulfil the requirements of the law in thirty days should leave the city. The law here referred to had lain a dead letter since it passed the Ohio Legislature, in 1807. It provided, that every negro or mulatto person should enter into bonds with two or more freehold sureties, in the penal sum of \$500, conditioned for the good behavior and support of such negro or mulatto person, if they should be found in the state, unable to support themselves. It also made it the duty of the overseers of the poor, to remove all such persons as did not comply with the above laws, in the same manner as is required in the case of paupers.

Another section of the same law provided that any person who should employ, harbor, or conceal any such negro or mulatto person, should, for every such offence, forfeit and pay any sum not exceeding one hundred dollars and be liable for their maintenance and support, should they ever be unable to support themselves. This proclamation was fully sustained and urged into execution by the public sentiment of the city. The colored people immediately held a meeting to consider what should be done. They petitioned the city authorities for permission to remain thirty days longer, and forthwith sent a committee to Canada to see what provisions could be made for them there. The sixty days expired before their return.

The populace finding that few, if any, gave security, and seeing no movement made, became exasperated, and determined to expel them by force. For three nights the fury of the mob was let loose upon them. They applied in vain to the city authorities for protection. Despairing of succor from the whites they barricaded their houses and defended themselves. Some of their assailants were killed and the mob at last retired.

The deputation to Canada returned with a favorable answer. The reply of Sir James Colebrook, Governor of Upper Canada, is characteristic of a noble minded man. "Tell the Republicans" said he, "on your

side of the line, that we royalists do not know *men* by their colour. Should you come to us, you will be entitled to all the privileges of the rest of his Majesties subjects."

On the receipt of this grateful intelligence a large number removed to Canada, and formed what is called the Wilberforce Settlement. It cannot be ascertained, definitely, how many went to Canada. But, one of the two men, who took the census a short time previous to the excitement, states, that the colored people numbered 2200. About three years after, the same gentleman assisted in taking the census again, when they numbered only 1100. "This" he added "is not guess-work, but matter of fact."

The wrongs suffered by those who remained behind, either from inability to remove, or other causes, cannot well be imagined. The mechanical associations combined against them. Public schools were closed by law, and prejudice excluded them entirely from such as were selected. A general desire among the white population that they should remove to Liberia, or elsewhere, rendered the operation of these laws too effective. They were by no means a dead letter. One or two facts will be sufficient.

A respectable master mechanic stated to us, a few days since, that, in 1830 the President of the Mechanical Association, was publicly tried by the Society, for the crime of assisting a colored young man to learn a trade. Such was the feeling among the mechanics, that no colored boy could learn a trade or colored journeymen find employment. A young man of our acquaintance, of unexceptionable character and an excellent workman, purchased his freedom and learned the cabinet making business in Kentucky. On coming to this city he was refused work by every man to whom he applied. At last he found a shop, carried on by an Englishman, who agreed to employ him—but on entering the shop, the workmen threw down their tools, and declared that he should leave or they would. "*They would never work with a nigger.*" The unfortunate youth was accordingly dismissed.

In this extremity, having spent his last cent, he found a slave holder who gave him employment in an iron store as a common laborer. Here he remained two years, when the gentleman finding he was a mechanic, exerted his influence and procured work for him as a rough carpenter. This man by dint of perseverance and industry has now become a master workman, employing at times, six or eight journeymen. But he tells us he has not yet received a single job of work from a native born citizen of a free state. This oppression of the mechanics still continues. One of the boys of our school last summer, sought in vain for a place in this city to learn a trade. In hopes of better success his brother went with him to New-Orleans when he readily found a situation. Multitudes of common laborers at the time alluded to above, were immediately turned out of employment, and many have told us that they were compelled to resort to dishonorable occupations or starve. One fact—a clergyman told one of his laborers who was also a member of his church, that he could employ him no longer for the laws forbade it. The poor man went out and sought employment else-

where to keep his family from starving, but he sought in vain, and returned in despair to the minister to ask his advice. The only reply he received was "I cannot help you, you must go to Liberia."

This combined oppression of public sentiment and law reduced the colored people to extreme misery. No colored man could be a drayman or porter without subjecting his employer to a heavy penalty, and few employers had the courage or disposition to risk its infliction. Many families, as we *know*, have for years been supported by the mothers or female part of the family. This they have done by going out at washing, or performing other drudgery which no one else could be procured to do.

The schools, both common and select, remain shut against them to the present day although they have always paid their full proportion of taxes for all public objects.* A short time since, it was discovered by a master of the common school, a presbyterian elder, that three or four children who attended had a colored woman for a mother. Although the complexion of these children is such that no one could distinguish them amongst a company of whites, they were told that they could not stay in school, and were sent home to their parents.

The law not only placed the colored population in a situation where they must remain in ignorance and deprived them of the means of procuring an honest living, but it went still further and took from them their oath in courts of justice in any case where a white person was one of the parties. Thus they were placed by law at the mercy of their cruel persecutors. A few cases have accidentally fallen under our own observation. Last spring a colored man had his house broken into and property to a considerable amount stolen. The evidence was entirely conclusive as one of the thieves turned State's evidence, and confessed the whole. At the court, one of the pleas put in by the counsel was that neither the oath of the man nor that of his family could be taken to prove the property to be his. The jury returned a verdict of *not guilty* and the robbers were cleared.

At the same court a white man was arraigned for murdering a colored man. The case was a plain one,—eight or ten men who were standing near, saw the murder. Only two of them, however, were white. On the day of trial one of the white men could not be found. The testimony of the other was received, while that of the colored men, though equally respectable, was refused. As it was a capital crime, where two witnesses were necessary, the murderer escaped unpunished. Subject to such disabilities is it strange that this population should be ignorant and degraded? Especially when we remember that nearly one half of them were formerly in bondage. They have grown up under its blighting influences. The charge is *true, they are a degraded people*. But this charge, true as it is, should not make them objects of contempt. It is the proof that they have *minds* and are susceptible of moral influence. We wonder as we sometimes sit and

* In the new city charter obtained in 1834, a provision is made that the colored people shall receive the amount of their school taxes in tuition. But as yet, so far as our knowledge extends, they have received no benefit from this provision.

listen to their tale of sufferings and of woe, that black despair has not entirely palsied every energy. To those acquainted with the system of slavery, it is known that not only law but even brute force is frequently exerted to prevent the dawn of intellect. Said a colored woman to us the other day, "When I was little, I used to long to read. After prayers, master would often leave the bible and hymn book on the stand, and I would sometimes open them to see if the letters would not tell me something. When he came in and caught me looking in them he would always strike me and sometimes knock me down."

In September, 1832, a Sunday school was collected which now numbers 125 scholars soon after a lyceum was established, where up to the present time lectures on scientific and literary subjects have been delivered twice a week to an audience of from 150 to 300 persons. A library of about 100 volumes was collected, which however, from the inability of the people to read, has as yet been but little used. Arrangements were made for a school but was delayed for some time by the difficulty of procuring a house for such a purpose. At length, a small tenement was rented of a colored man, and the school commenced on the first of March, 1834. When this school was opened it was immediately crowded to overflowing with children and adults. The house not being large enough to contain them, sixty small children were admitted at 9 o'clock in the morning. After reading and spelling around, they were dismissed and the house was filled again by the larger and grown persons who went through the same exercises. These classes returned in the afternoon in the same order, and again recited lessons in reading and spelling. At this time, probably one half of them, old and young, did not know their letters.

The clamor of the adults for admittance made it necessary to open an evening school for their benefit. This was held three evenings in a week, and fully attended. Five or six individuals engaged in teaching each evening. This evening school when the students left the Lane Seminary it was discontinued for want of teachers.

In consequence of the crowd at the day school, another house and teacher were procured and the school divided. At the beginning of the second quarter another division was made and two additional schools commenced, one for young ladies and the other for the small children. These two last are taught by ladies. The four schools above described are still in operation, numbering at present 250 pupils, and exhibiting, so far as we can discover, the same eagerness to learn as when they first commenced. Two teachers are engaged in the young ladies' school, and two in the school for small children, all of them are females. The young ladies who are engaged in these schools are all of them thoroughly qualified to fill any department of female instruction. Just before they devoted themselves to this work, two of them were urgently solicited to take charge of a female seminary of high character in Tennessee, with an offer to each of five hundred dollars a year. This offer was renewed with importunity after their arrival in Cincinnati, but they again declined it, choosing rather to instruct the despised, the oppressed, and forsaken, sharing with them the burden of their woes

In the ladies school, which now numbers about eighty scholars, work has been introduced, and nearly all are now employed two hours a day in various kinds of needle work. This was found to be a necessary part of their education, as before they had known how to do little else than the most laborious kind of house work.

In regard to the improvement of these schools, our expectations have been more than realized. The uniform testimony of the teachers in regard to their pupils is, that they have never seen their superiors, although they have taught years in other places. Individuals who have visited the schools have expressed much surprise at the mental activity, and rapid advancement which they have discovered.* A few specific facts here, may not be out of place. Rhoda Carr, a girl who had been a slave, and who had purchased her freedom, having in some way heard of our schools, came five hundred miles that she might attend them. She entered not knowing her letters—in four weeks her reading book was the Testament. Prestley, a boy aged ten, learned his letters in four days. He commenced last June, and is now a good reader, and well advanced in arithmetic. Charles, another boy ten years old, at the second quarter had gone through Ray's arithmetic, and could do any sum which the book contained. The children generally of eight and ten years of age, who commenced with their letters can now spell any where in the spelling book. Fifty are now attending to geography, thirty to English grammar, forty to arithmetic, and twelve to history, some of whom are well advanced. True some who attend our schools are stupid and dull, as is the case with every collection of children, but with the majority, the fact is far otherwise. Sixty or eighty lines in history are frequently repeated for a morning lesson, with perfect accuracy, and on inquiring of the boys how long they sat up last night, the reply with some is "till ten, eleven or twelve o'clock," and with others, "till we burned the candle out."

The remembrance of friends still in bondage, presses heavily on their hearts. It is even with the small children a powerful stimulus to effort. In order to show clearly the character of this influence, it

* Extract of a letter from Mr. F. A. Sayre, for nine years a teacher of one of the public schools in Cincinnati.

"Facts have been developed in the progress of the Day Schools and Sunday Schools here, which have made me believe that the colored people are not only equal to white people, in natural capacity to be taught, but that they exceed them—they do not receive instruction, they seize it as a person who has been long famishing for food, seizes the smallest crumb.

I several times visited the different schools for colored children, and have always been gratified to observe the good order and attention to study which the pupils manifest, and particularly, with the affection with which they regard their teachers. I have, however, known more particularly the school for boys which Brother W. teaches; there I have seen boys of from nine to twelve years of age, who had learned the alphabet within a year, who were able to exhibit to advantage in reading and spelling, to write legibly, to recite long lessons in History, which they had been a short time studying, and to undergo an examination in Arithmetic, which when I first witnessed it, perfectly astonished me. I have taught common schools for about fifteen years at intervals, and have visited many taught by others, and I must candidly say, that I have never been acquainted with one which for rapid progress in the different studies pursued, and for the interest manifested by the pupils, could be compared with this, nor have I ever seen so much good feeling in the intercourse of teacher and pupils."

may not be out of place to permit the children to speak for themselves. Not long since, the pupils, were requested to write compositions. As this was new business, they inquired what they were to write about? The answer was, "What you *think most* about."

The following are specimens of the compositions.

1st. Dear school-mates, we are going next summer to buy a farm and to work part of the day and to study the other part if we live to see it and come home part of the day to see our mothers and sisters and cousins if we are got any and see our kind folks and to be good boys and when we get a man to get the poor slaves from bondage. And I am sorrow to hear that the boat of Tiskilwa went down with two hundred poor slaves from up the river. Oh how sorrow I am to hear that. it grieves my soul so that I could faint in one minute. — — —, aged seven years.

2d. Dear School-master, I now inform you in these few lines, that what we are studying for is to try to get the yoke of slavery broke and the chains parted asunder and slave-holding cease for ever. O that God would change the hearts of our fellow men. — — —, aged twelve years.

3d. In my youthful days dear Lord, let me remember my creator, Lord. Teach me to do his will. Bless the cause of abolition—bless the heralds of the truth that we trust God has sent out to declare the rights of man. We trust that it may be the means of moving mountains of sin off all the families. My mother and step-father, my sister and myself we were all born in slavery. The Lord did let the oppressed go free. Roll on the happy period that all nations shall know the Lord. We thank him for his many blessings. — — —, aged eleven years.

4th. Dear Sir.—This is to inform you that I have two cousins in slavery who are entitled to their freedom. They have done every thing that the will requires and now they wont let them go. They talk of selling them down the river. If this was your case what would you do? Please give me your advice. — — —, aged ten years.

5th. Let us look back and see the state in which the Britons and Saxons and Germans lived. They had no learning and had not a knowledge of letters. But now look, some of them are our first men. Look at king Alfred and see what a great man he was. He at one time did not know his a, b, c, but before his death he commanded armies and nations. He was never discouraged but always looked forward and studied the harder. I think if the colored people study like king Alfred they will soon do away the evil of slavery. I cant see how the Americans can call this a land of freedom where so much slavery is. — — —, aged sixteen years.

These compositions with others were handed to the teacher, who put them in his pocket, without any thought of preserving them or showing them to any one. When it was thought best to insert them here, he took them from his pocket without any selection, and wrote them just in the order they came to hand. They are a fair transcript of our pupils' hearts. It is not strange that the subject of slavery should

so deeply affect them, when it is remembered that nearly all, who attend our schools, have friends now in bondage. Some have a father or a mother—some brothers and sisters, and others have dear children, whom they have left at the mercy of the task-master. They know their woes from sad experience. They think of their sufferings, they listen to their groans, and they feel. Again and again as the slave has been mentioned, have we heard from one and another the heavy groan,—have seen the heaving bosom and the trickling tear, and teacher and pupil have wept together. *We know* on this subject what cannot be expressed in words.

Those who have friends in slavery, live in continual dread and anxiety, lest they should be sold and taken down the river. This solicitude either like a canker preys upon their energies, gnaws away the springs of human effort, or if their minds are of that stern material that will give up the ghost sooner than yield, it operates as a continual goad, and urges them on to efforts almost superhuman.

It is common for boats loaded with slaves, to stop at Cincinnati, and it frequently happens that the friends and relations of the pupils are in chains, on board. A few days since, a colored man came into one of the shools and said, he believed there was some person present who had friends on board a boat, going down the river. On mentioning the name of their owners, a woman, on the farther side of the house, immediately exclaimed, "Oh, they've come," and fell senseless. A friend who sat near, caught her in her arms, and for some time she lay apparently lifeless. Then, at intervals, a deep groan would burst from her agonized bosom. When she revived, a flood of tears came to her relief. "I must see them," said she,—and hardly able to support herself, she left the house. "These farewell scenes are worse than funerals,—they cannot be described,"—said a man to us a few days since, whose children had been sent down the river,—"*I'd rather have seen them die. It broke my heart.*" The expression is common, that they had rather hear that their friends are dead, than that they are sold down the river.

Probably three-fourths of the whole number now in the schools, are either now slaves, have been slaves, or are the children of slave parents. Those who are now in slavery, have obtained permission from their masters, to come to a free state to work out their freedom. They are very anxious to learn, and when they cannot find work, come into school. One man, about thirty-five years of age, is very patiently trying to learn his letters; but says he can't come when he can get work. He is to pay his master, in Kentucky, \$700. Twenty of which, within a few weeks, he has earned and paid over. Another, a pious widow, aged 60, is making the same effort. She says, if she can only get so as to read in the Testament, she will be satisfied. By her efforts at washing she has paid \$50 to her master, but has yet one hundred more to pay. Doubtless she will sink into the grave before her task is accomplished.

Calling upon a family not long since, whose children did not come to school very regularly, we found the father and mother were out at

work. On saying to the eldest child, age about ten years, "why dont you come to school, my girl?" She replied—"I'm staying at home to help buy father."

As this family attend the sabbath school, we will state some particulars respecting them, to illustrate a general fact. Their history is, by no means, a remarkable one. Conversing with them one day, they remarked: "We have been wonderfully blessed; not one in a hundred is treated so well as we have been." A few years since, the mother, an amiable woman, intelligent, pious, and beloved by all who knew her, was emancipated. But she lived in continual dread lest her husband, who was still a slave, should be sold and separated from her forever. After much painful solicitation, his master permitted him to come to Cincinnati, to work out his freedom. Although under no obligation, except his verbal promise, he is now, besides supporting a sickly family, saving from his daily wages the means of paying the price of his body. The money is sent to a nephew of his master, who is now studying for the ministry, in Miami University. The following is an extract from the correspondence of this candidate for the ministry. It is addressed to this colored man.

"MR. OVERTON:

Sir, I have an order on you for \$150, from your old master. It is in consideration of your dues to him for your freedom. I am in great want of the money, and have been for some time. I shall only ask you 10 per cent interest, although 12 is common. The money has been due two months. If you cannot pay it before the last of March, I shall have to return the order to Uncle Jo,—for I cannot wait longer than that time. It must also run at 12 per cent interest henceforth. If you cannot pay it all, write to me, and let me know when you can. Uncle Jo. requests me to let him know when you would have any more money for him.

Yours in haste."

This is only one of a series of dunning letters which came every few weeks. Soon after the reception of this, Mr. Overton scraped together the pittance he had earned, and sent the young man \$100, with interest. And he is now going out at days work, and his wife, when able, is taking in washing, to pay the balance. They have two sons still in slavery. The mother, when emancipated, had the privilege of choosing masters, for these children. She selected two men in whom she had confidence, and who were remarkable for their kindness to their slaves. They purchased the boys for \$200 each, promising the mother, that if she should ever procure the means, she might redeem them at the same price. This, said she, was the last thing they said to me as I got into the stage to come away, while the children were clinging to me, and screaming to come along. The following is the copy of a letter she has just received from one of these men. It shows how coolly "kind masters" can trifle with the feelings of an affectionate and anxious mother.

"STAUNTON, VA., March, 1815.

To Mrs. Rebecca Overton :

Yours of the 4th instant, I received on the 14th, and now answer your letter according to your request. You say you are anxious for your sons to be where you are, and a friend of yours is willing to advance the price I bought him at. I am not yet determined to sell. Mr. — says he will sell his boy, but must have for him \$300. The one I have you know is the youngest, but almost as large, and of the two I should prefer mine. Either of them, now, is capable of doing house work or taking care of a horse. Both of the boys are perfectly healthy, and at this time would hire for \$30 a year, and every year they would be getting more valuable if they lived. The friend you speak of can get Mr. —'s at the same price, so he has just informed me. I do not feel disposed to part with mine, for I am well convinced I could not get one that would *suit me* better, or even as well,—but as it is for you, I might part with him, he is good disposed, and his character good."

On reading this letter to Mrs. Overton, she said, "I see what he wants. He is willing to sell, but wants we should pay him the other \$100." The following tantalizing postscript is appended to the letter :

"Your sons request me to tell you, they are well, and should be glad to see you ; and further they desire their love to their sisters and brothers,—and are anxious to live with you, or nearer than at present, *if it could be so ordered.*"

We have inserted this case thus at length, to show how all the social sympathies of these people have been mocked, and their tenderest sensibilities outraged. Still we see them bearing up under these accumulated wrongs, and struggling onward with a vigor, truly astonishing.

One man has just finished paying for himself, wife and babe, \$650. For a little son who attends school with him, "I paid," said he "a hundred silver dollars, when he was three years old." He has done all this by rigid self-denial and persevering industry. For two children yet in bondage, one 9 and the other 11 years of age, he has offered \$450, but their owner refuses to sell. Another man in school, paid \$1000 in cash for his own body. A number of females have paid 200 and 300 dollars for themselves. They earned it entirely by their own efforts, principally by washing. These girls now go out at washing two days of the week, in order to support themselves in school the remainder of the time. More than thirty females are now getting their education and supporting themselves in this way. Mr. Ralls paid \$1130 for his wife and two daughters. They are all now constant attendants at school. We might go on in this way through our catalogue, but we forbear, lest we should be tedious. The above facts are sufficient as a specimen, to show the material of which the schools are composed.

The people had long groped their way in darkness, and as long had prayed for light. But such a transition from the midnight of despair, to the sunlight of hope, was too much for some of them to bear. One pious mother, was delirious with joy for more than a week, at the

bright prospect for her children. Said she "many times I have lain awake all night, and prayed for just such things, but when they came, I could'nt stand it." One of the most intelligent and strong minded of the colored men, was absent from the city, till in the summer, and had heard not a word of what was going on amongst the colored people. The first evening of his return, he attended one of the lectures. Said he, "I was in a perfect maze, to see a man get up, and speak to a colored congregation on such subjects,—to hear such sentiments from white men,—to have them talk in such a way to *us*,—was too much for me to believe. I thought I was dreaming. I would jog my neighbour to see if I was awake; take out my knife and cut the bench; take up the shavings and pick them to pieces;—and after all I could'nt convince myself that I was awake. I would come into the schools during the day,—sit and look on till I was ready to burst into tears,—then get up and go out, and say to myself, is this reality, or is it a dream? Am I really awake? No, it can't be true,—it is all a delusion. And thus I was several days."

Said a woman, lately from Virginia, "If we should go back and tell of our advantages, and how we have the white people to teach us, and how they treat us like brothers,—they could'nt believe us. There is a heap of people that would'nt believe a word we said. We had no idea of it before we came. It is just like changing out of one world into another."

The gratitude which at times flows out from their *full, warm* hearts, is rich in blessing, and lightens all our labors.

The schools have suffered no little inconvenience from not having suitable rooms. Two of them have been taught in churches, and two in private dwelling-houses. It is expected however, that a house will be built this year, sufficiently large to accommodate two of the schools. The colored people have according to their ability, contributed liberally to this object. They are also making an effort to pay, for the next year, a greater proportion of the expenses of the schools. The expenses for the past year have been \$929. Of this the colored people contributed \$250. The remainder was given by abolitionists, at the east, and elsewhere. 209 dollars of this sum has been expended for rent; 150 dollars for three temporary female teachers, and the remainder for books, fixtures, fuel, board of teachers, etc. In addition to the schools now in operation, another will commence on the first of June, for colored boatmen, and continue four months. Of this class of men, there are, during the summer, about 300; whose residence is in this city. As they are well known, and a majority of them active young men, their influence hitherto has been bad. Familiar, during eight months of the year, with all the vices of the river, it could not be expected that a four months residence on the shore, would mend their manners or their morals. Especially when it is remembered that during the week, grog-shops, brothels, and gambling-houses, have been the only places open for their reception. Aside from the common hardships of a boatman's life, this class of our citizens suffer severe persecutions by coming in constant contact with slave laws.

As there is danger of making our report too long, we will state only one fact.

A colored woman of our acquaintance came up on a boat this morning, who had been down the river to get her husband out of jail. He was a boatman on the lower waters, and his family resided in this city. Some two or three months since, while taking in wood, his leg was severely injured. He spent all his money in paying board and doctors' bills. As it healed very slowly, he became discouraged, and attempted to get home. He procured a passage, promising to pay when he arrived in Cincinnati. But on getting up to the falls, at Louisville, the boat could not pass. He then left his free papers with the captain as security, and took passage on another boat. When they came for his passage money, he told them of his misfortunes and his poverty. His story was not credited, and they demanded his free papers. These, of course, he was unable to produce. He was accordingly set on shore, and thrust into a Kentucky jail. Here he remained four weeks, and would have been sold to pay the jail fees, had he not found means to send to his wife, who went immediately to his relief.

Great good may justly be anticipated from such a school. These boatmen traverse all our navigable waters: the Ohio, Cumberland, Tennessee, Kanhawa, Illinois, Wabash, Mississippi, Missouri, Arkansas, White, Red, Yazoo, and other rivers. If intelligent, industrious and sober, they would every where be letters of recommendation for all the colored people. Their influence, if directed aright, will tell powerfully, not only on the interests of the free colored man, but on the whole system of American oppression.

It is to be regretted that an accurate census of the colored population of Cincinnati, cannot be furnished. Such a census was commenced some months since, but owing to the pressure of other duties has not been finished. It is a work of considerable labor, as the people are scattered through all parts of the city, and large numbers of them are servants in white families. From the part gone over, we are able to form, as we believe, a tolerably accurate estimate of their numbers and general condition.

The number of colored people in Cincinnati, is about 2500. As illustrating their general condition, we will give the statistics of one or two small districts. The families in each, were visited from house to house, taking them all as far as we went:

Number of families in one of these districts,	26
“ of individuals,	125
“ of heads of families,	49
“ of heads of families who are professors of religion,	19
“ of children at school,	20
“ of heads of families who have been slaves,	39
“ of individuals who have been slaves,	95

Time since they obtained their freedom from 1 to 15 years.
average, 7 years.

Number of individuals who have purchased themselves,	23
Whole amount paid for themselves,	\$9,112

Number of fathers and mothers still in slavery,	9
“ of children,	18
“ of brothers and sisters,	98
“ of newspapers taken,	0
“ of heads of families who can read,	2

EMPLOYMENT OF HEADS OF FAMILIES.

Common laborers and porters,	7
Dealers in second-hand clothing,	1
Hucksters,	1
Carpenters,	2
Shoe-blacks,	6
Cooks and Waiters,	11
Wash-women,	18

Five of these women purchased themselves from slavery. One paid \$400 for herself, and has since bought a house and lot, worth \$600. All this she has done by washing.

Another individual had bargained for his wife and two children. Their master agreed to take \$420 for them. He succeeded at length in raising the money, which he carried to their owner. “I shall charge you \$30 more than when you was here before,” said the planter, “for your wife is in a family-way, and you may pay thirty dollars for that, or not take her, just as you please.” “And so” said he, (patting the head of a little son three years old, who hung upon his knee,) “I had to pay thirty dollars for this little fellow, six months before he was born.”

Number of families in another district,	63
“ of individuals,	258
“ of heads of families,	106
“ of heads of families who are professors of religion,	16
“ of heads of families at school,	53
“ of newspapers taken,	7

Amount of property in real estate, \$9,850

Number of *individuals* who have been slaves, 108

“ of *heads of families* who have been slaves, 69

Age at which they obtained their freedom, from three months to sixty years: average, 33 years.

Time since they obtained their freedom, from four weeks to twenty-seven years: average, 9 years.

Number of heads of families who have purchased themselves, 36

Whole amount paid for themselves, \$21,513,00

Average price, 597,64

Number of children which the same families have already purchased, 14

Whole amount paid for these children, \$2,425 75

Average price, 173 27

Total amount paid for these parents and children, \$23,940 75

Number of parents still in slavery, 16

“ of husbands or wives, 7

“ of children, 35

“ of brothers and sisters, 144

These districts were visited without the least reference to their being exhibited separately. If they give a fair specimen of the whole population, (and we believe that to be a fact,) then we have the following results: 1,129 of the colored population of Cincinnati have been in slavery; 476 have purchased themselves at the total expense of \$215,522 04, averaging for each \$452 77; 163 parents are still in slavery; 68 husbands and wives; 346 children; 1,579 brothers and sisters.

There are a large number in the city who are now working out their own freedom,—their free papers being retained as security. One man of our acquaintance has just given his master seven notes of \$100 each,—one of which he intends to pay every year, till he has paid them all,—his master promises then to give him his free papers. After paying for himself, he intends to buy his wife and then his children. Others are buying their husbands or wives, and others again their parents or children. To show that on this subject they have sympathies like other people, we will state a single fact. A young man, after purchasing himself, earned \$300. This sum he supposed was sufficient to purchase his aged mother, a widow, whom he had left in slavery five years before, in Virginia. Hearing that she was for sale, he started immediately to purchase her. But after travelling 500 miles and offering all his money, he was refused. Not because she was not for sale—nor because he did not offer her full value. She had four sons and daughters with her, and the planter thought he could do better to keep the family together, and send them all down the river. In vain the affectionate son plead for his mother. The planter's heart was steel. He would not sell her, and with a heavy heart, the young man returned to Cincinnati. He has since heard that they were sold in the New-Orleans, market "*in lots to suit purchasers.*"

In regard to the general character of this people, it is perhaps unnecessary to add any thing to what has already been said. If we except the influence of uncommon persecution, that portion of them that were free born do not differ essentially from the colored population of other free states. Many families are in easy circumstances, and are well regulated. In some, the Sabbath is emphatically a day of rest,—all the cooking and other work having been done on Saturday. With regard to the majority, however, their domestic arrangements are loose, and family government very much neglected. In this respect, however, they are improving. The teachers, especially the females, make it a part of their duty to visit the families, and impart such domestic and religious instruction as they think will be profitable. That portion of them who were born in slavery, are generally from that class of slaves who are *best treated*. This we know from observation, and from their own testimony. Such as were emancipated we find, on inquiring, were usually favorite servants, or they had masters who liberated them, at their death,—and those who bought themselves, also had masters of a similar character. The permission to buy themselves, the slaves considered a great favor.

We mention these things to show that facts drawn from this portion

of the colored population of Cincinnati, do not, by any means, give a partial and overwrought picture of slavery. All these people speak well of their masters, and say they were treated much better than those on other plantations. But *we* have often thought within ourselves when conversing with them—If these are the tender mercies of slavery, what are its cruelties? *One* of the accursed influences of Slavery, they have felt with a severity known only to favorite servants, we mean licentiousness. Many facts might be given on this subject, but we forbear, for want of time fully to exhibit this, its most loathsome feature. These manumitted slaves are from all parts of the South, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Arkansas and Tennessee; but principally from Kentucky and Virginia, and we notice in these some of the peculiarities of each section.

A considerable number whom we knew, were kidnapped, and are acquainted, by sad experience, with all the horrors of this internal traffic. We will mention a few cases:—Two sisters who are now in our sabbath school and were free born, were stolen when young, together with three other sisters, and made slaves in Tennessee. After remaining in servitude more than thirty years, one of them was emancipated, and the other purchased herself by paying \$375. The other sisters are still in slavery, with twelve children. James Veach, was kidnapped in Virginia. Kept in slavery in Tennessee, twenty years, obtained his freedom by paying \$800.

Ann, a young woman aged twenty-two, was kidnapped about a year and a half ago, in Richmond, Virginia. Her mother is a widow and was formerly a slave. She hired her time, paying her master forty dollars a year, and finally succeeded in purchasing herself and babe for \$880. She then commenced buying Ann. Urged on by the fond hope of rescuing an affectionate daughter from the grasp of the slave holder, she had already earned and paid over \$400. Ann was living at home, and there remained only \$150 to be paid. But the industrious mother had toiled in vain. Passing along the street one evening Ann was seized by the slave traders and thrust immediately into jail. She says, "I never spent such a night as that was; more than 300 were already in jail, and a number of others were afterwards brought in who were kidnapped the same evening. They were immediately chained together, and towards morning we were all taken on board the brig Tribune, Capt. Smith, bound for New-Orleans. She had among her cargo fifteen persons whom they had kidnapped. This brig was owned by Ballard & Armfield of Richmond. I was sold in New-Orleans. About two months afterwards I saw the same brig come in again with another cargo of 200 slaves. After staying in Orleans about one year I obtained my freedom and came to Cincinnati."

A man who was born in Cincinnati, has just escaped from a servitude of twenty-six years. As he was uncommonly intelligent, he was often sold to prevent assistance from those who knew him. When he came to Cincinnati, he had traveled on foot 700 miles. He started in February, when the ground was covered with snow and ice. These for the first week were his bed, and the pine trees his only covering.

For three weeks he ate but one meal a day, and the third week this was only bread and water.

Mary Brown, another colored girl who was kidnapped in 1830, was the daughter of free parents in Washington city. She lived with her parents until the death of her mother; she was then seized and sold. The following are the facts as she stated them. One day when near the Potomac bridge, Mr. Humphreys the sheriff, overtook her, and told her that she must go with him—She inquired of him what for? He made no reply, but told her to come along. He took her immediately to a slave auction. Mary told Mr. Humphreys that she was free, but he contradicted her and the sale went on. The auctioneer soon found a purchaser, and struck her off for three hundred and fifty dollars. Her master was a Mississippi trader, and she was immediately taken to the jail. After a few hours, Mary was handcuffed—chained to a man slave, and started in a drove of about forty for New-Orleans. Her handcuffs made her wrists swell so that they were obliged to take them off at night, and put fetters on her ankles. In the morning her handcuffs were again put on. Thus they traveled for two weeks, wading rivers, and whipped up all day, and beaten at night, if they did not get their distance. Mary says that she frequently waded rivers in her chains with water up to her waist. It was in October, and the weather cold and frosty. After traveling thus twelve or fifteen days, her arms and ankles became so swollen that she felt that she could go no farther. Blisters would form on her feet as large as dollars, which at night she would have to open, while all day the shackles would cut into her lacerated wrists. They had no beds, and usually slept in barns, or out on the naked ground—was in such misery when she lay down that she could only lie and cry all night. Still they drove them on for another week. Her spirits became so depressed, and she grieved so much about leaving her friends, that she could not eat, and every time the trader caught her crying, he would beat her, accompanying it with dreadful curses. The trader would whip and curse any of them whom he found praying. One evening he caught one of the men at prayer—he took him, lashed him down to a parcel of rails, and beat him dreadfully. He told Mary that if he caught her praying he would give her Hell!! (Mary was a member of the Methodist Church in Washington.) There were a number of pious people in the company, and at night when the driver found them melancholy, and disposed to pray, he would have a fiddle brought, and make them dance in their chains. It mattered not how sad or weary they were, he would whip them until they *would* do it.

Mary at length became so weak, that she could travel no further. Her feeble frame was exhausted and sunk beneath her accumulated sufferings. She was seized with a burning fever, and the trader fearing he should lose her, carried her the remainder of the way in a waggon.

When they arrived at Natches, they were all offered for sale, and as Mary was still sick, she begged that she might be sold to a kind master. She would sometimes make this request in presence of purchasers—but was always insulted for it, and after they were gone, the

trader would punish her for such presumption. On one occasion he tied her up by her hands so that she could only touch the end of her toes to the floor. This was soon after breakfast, he kept her thus suspended, whipping her at intervals through the day—at evening he took her down. She was so much bruised, that she could not lie down for more than a week afterwards. He often beat and choked her for another purpose, until she was obliged to yield to his desires.

She was at length sold to a wealthy man of Vicksburg at four hundred and fifty dollars, for a house servant. But he had another object in view. He compelled her to gratify his licentious passions, and had, children by her. This was the occasion of so much difficulty between him and his wife, that he has now sent her up to Cincinnati to be free.

We have no reason to doubt the account of Mary as given above. The person from whom we heard this took it down, from her own lips. Her manner of relating it was perfectly simple and artless, and is here written out almost verbatim. We have also the testimony of a number of individuals who knew her in Vicksburg; they have no doubt of her integrity, and say that we may rely implicitly upon the truth of any statement which she may make.

Persons are occasionally kidnapped in this city. Two young men, members of our school were stolen last fall, but were soon rescued. When found they were in irons on board a steam-boat. Other more aggravating cases might be mentioned.

The moral character and condition of this people, is, we believe rapidly improving. There are three churches—two Methodist and one Baptist, numbering in all about four hundred and fifty members. In these churches there is preaching every Sabbath to full congregations. There are four Sabbath schools with each a small library and three Bible classes. These schools and classes are well attended by persons of all ages, and an uncommon desire to learn the truth of the Bible is manifested. A few, we hope, have recently been born again. And with many there appears to be an increasing solicitude about their eternal welfare. Male and female prayer meetings are held by all the churches. The female prayer meetings are always crowded and full of interest. A female benevolent society, was organized a few months since, consisting of forty members. Their meetings are held regularly, and the time spent working for the poor. A society for the relief of persons in distress, called the "Cincinnati Union Society," has been in operation for a number of years. It now numbers one hundred male members, and its yearly contributions are about two hundred and fifty dollars. Another society of a kindred character numbers about thirty. A temperance society on the principle of total abstinence was formed on the first of April. This was done after a course of lectures which were listened to by large audiences. At the two closing lectures one hundred and sixty-four pledged themselves to entire abstinence from all intoxicating liquors, including wine, cider and all malt liquors, except on sacramental occasions, or when prescribed by a temperance physician, and also to do all in their power to prevent its use by others. Between that time and the organization of

the society, the number increased to two hundred and twenty five, and a few names have been added since. Great good is anticipated from the influence of this society. A number of confirmed drunkards have told us they were "trying it." The society will have regular monthly meetings, when an address will be delivered by one of its members.

The demeanor of the colored population toward the whites, so far as we can discover, is respectful to all, and to their particular friends, it is marked with those peculiar testimonials of gratitude and esteem, which we should find it difficult to express. We notice that in proportion as we visit them, and mingle in their society, they become guarded and circumspect in all their demeanor, and as they become intelligent, they lose their relish for gaudy tinsel and display. They feel convinced that character is based on mental and moral worth. There are none who appreciate the advantages of education and morality so much as those who are best educated and most moral. After living with them a year, and associating on terms of perfect friendship and equality, we do not find on their part anything like an unpleasant familiarity, but on the other hand an increased sense of moral and intellectual distance. This to us is sometimes exceedingly painful. Said one of their most intelligent men to us the other day, "I feel as though I did not know any thing, and never had done any thing." They know how to appreciate favors from their friends, and at the same time they receive insults from their enemies, with a patience known only to a people who have been long abused. While a majority feel pained and depressed at the cruel prejudice of the whites,—there are others—men of strong and independent minds, who either do not notice, or if they do, look down with utter contempt upon that narrow feeling, which makes color the test of character.

The question is often asked, Can slaves, if liberated, take care of themselves? We cannot answer this question better than by pointing to the colored population of Cincinnati. It is amusing to see the curious look which an emancipated slave assumes, when he is asked this question. He seems at a loss to know whether he shall consider it a joke or an honest inquiry. "We did," they say, "take care of ourselves, and our masters too, while we were in fetters. We dug our way out of slavery—and now that we are free, all we ask is a fair chance." We know of no class of men who are better qualified to take care of themselves if placed under proper influences. True, but few of those in Cincinnati are wealthy—but let it be remembered *their sympathies are with the slave*, and with all their disabilities they have within a few years poured into the coffers of the white man, more than two hundred thousand dollars, for the purchase of their freedom. Permit us to give a few more facts on this point and we have done.

David Young, an emancipated slave, has bought his wife and six children. He paid for them \$1265. He yet owes \$110 for the last child. This he expects to pay this summer.

Henry Boyd, bought himself at the age of eighteen. He is now thirty-one, and is worth \$3000. He has also bought a brother and sister, for whom he paid \$900.

Samuel Lewis, paid \$500 for himself before he was eighteen years old.

Rebecca Madison, paid \$1800 for herself, and is now worth \$3000.

William O'Hara, an emancipated slave, has been in this city eight years, and is now worth \$7000.

Henry Blue paid for himself \$1000, is now thirty-nine years of age, and is worth \$5000. He attends school every day.

Richard Keys, for twelve years paid twenty dollars per month, for his time. He then paid \$850 for his freedom, amounting to \$3739. This man when a slave, was what is called an unmanageable fellow. He was sold nine times. Says, he never would be struck,—was not the least afraid to dirk or kill any man that abused him,—always kept a dirk about him. Supposes that in his various scuffles with overseers and others he had stabbed fifteen or twenty men. "But," said he, "it was not so when I got free." On inquiring why it was not so? he replied, "I was afraid of the law! Before, I did not care. I felt desperate, I knew I might as well die one way as another. But when I got free my eyes came open,—then I knew where I was,—I felt like a man. The law was before me, and I was afraid of it!" Speaking of his last master, he said, "There is no man I love more than Mr. Lovell, this blessed day, for he was a kind master, though he kept me twelve years in slavery." Mr. Keys is now an exemplary member of the Baptist church.*

His wife also bought herself. Her master was an orphan child. He was three months old when he came in possession of her, and she was his nurse when an infant. The guardian made her take care of herself and support the child. After the child left her, she was required to pay seventy dollars a year, for twenty years, for his support,—boarded herself, bought all her clothes, paid her house rent, etc. She did the whole of this by washing,—now and then she could save a little money, hoping she might, at some future day, redeem herself from bondage. "Many and many a night," said she, "after washing all day, have I sat up and ironed all night." Her husband says, as he came to visit her in the night, he has often found her thus at work. In this way she saved for herself a considerable sum every year, besides paying the seventy dollars per year, to sustain her young master. When he became of age, she paid him what money she had, amounting to \$400. Her husband paid \$192 more, and she was liberated. Can slaves take care of themselves?

We have done,—although we have not given one tenth part of the facts in our possession. Those we have given, are not by any means, extreme cases. We chose the medium, the better to illustrate the true character and condition of this interesting people.

Your Committee would conclude their Report by offering the following resolution :

That, in view of the needy circumstances of our free colored citizens, the influence which their elevation and good deportment would exert against slavery, and the facility afforded for the introduction among them of education and religion, we earnestly com-

* We have examined the vouchers in all the cases here detailed, and are fully satisfied that there is no deception. The stories told by these persons are confirmed by receipts and cancelled notes now in their possession.

mend this field to the charities of the good people of this state, as one in which their benevolence can be most efficiently expended.

AUGUSTUS WATTLES,	} Committee.
JOHN W. ALVORD,	
SAMUEL WELLS,	
H. LYMAN,	
MARCUS R. ROBINSON,	

REPORT ON THE LAWS OF OHIO.

Gentlemen, your "Committee on the laws of Ohio," after having given them such a consideration as their time would admit, submit the following report:

Whatever may be the minor designs of government, its principal aim is to promote the happiness, and to secure the rights and liberties of man. While legislators keep these objects in view, it is the source of blessing, and sends life into every part of the political system. But when, unmindful of the true interest of the people, they use their power to curtail this liberty, and to banish this happiness, they make it the instrument of oppression and the scourge of every community.

The government under which we live was formed upon the broad and universal principles of equal and unalienable rights; principles which were proclaimed at its first formation, which were incorporated into the compact under which our own state claims a right of membership in the Union:

Notwithstanding all this, *it is a fact*, that the great and fundamental principles of our government have been violated by enactments framed under the ostensible authority of this compact, which are entirely inconsistent with and subversive of the spirit which they breathe. These enactments are the more unjust from their being designed for the exclusive oppression of a weak and defenceless class of our fellow citizens,—a class, convicted of no crime—no natural inferiority—no conspiracy against our political and religious institutions, demanding their exclusion from the rights and privileges of citizenship.

Amongst the statutes of Ohio, recorded on the 25th of January, 1807, and which has been in force until the present time, we find the following act. "*Be it enacted*, That no negro or mulatto person shall be permitted to emigrate into, and settle within this state, unless such negro or mulatto person shall, within twenty days thereafter, enter into a bond with two or more freehold sureties, in the penal sum of five hundred dollars, before the clerk of the court of common pleas, in which such negro or mulatto may wish to reside, (to be approved of by the clerk,) conditioned for the good behavior of such negro or mulatto person,—and moreover, to pay for the support of such persons, in case he, she, or they should hereafter be found within any township of this state, unable to support themselves; and if any negro or mulatto person shall migrate into this state, and not comply with the provisions of this act, it shall be the duty of the overseers of the poor, of such town-

ship, where such negro or mulatto person may be found, to remove immediately such black or mulatto person, in the same manner as is required in the case of paupers."

The 3d. Section declares, "That if any person, being a resident of this state, shall employ, harbor, or conceal any such negro or mulatto person aforesaid, contrary to the provisions of the first section of this act; any person shall forfeit and pay for every such offence a sum not exceeding one hundred dollars, the one half to the informer and the other half for the use of the poor in the township where such person may reside, to be recovered by an action of debt, before any court having competent jurisdiction; and moreover, be liable for the maintenance and support of such negro or mulatto, provided he, she, or they shall become unable to support themselves."

Sec. 4. That no black or mulatto person or persons shall hereafter be permitted to be sworn or give evidence in any court of record or elsewhere in this state, in any cause depending, or matter of controversy, when either party to the same is a white person; or in any prosecution which shall be instituted in behalf of the state against any white person.

No individual, however much his mind may be swayed by prejudice and passion, can fail to perceive that the above statutory restrictions upon the colored population of Ohio, are arbitrary and unjust, and opposed to principles contained in our state constitution, as expressed in Sec. 1st Art. 8th, in these words: "We declare, that **ALL** are born free and independent, and have certain natural inherent unalienable rights, among which are the enjoying and defending life and liberty, acquiring, possessing and protecting property, and pursuing and attaining happiness and safety." What a contrast between our constitution and our statutes! Is it a mark of this *liberty* which is blazoned forth in our constitution, as its "inherent and natural right of all men," that the blacks should be under the necessity of entering into a bond with two or more freehold sureties, in the penal sum of five hundred dollars, before they are admitted to acquire and possess property, or to pursue and enjoy happiness? No. It is shutting, by the sanction of law, the very portals of happiness! It is casting them friendless and houseless into the open arms of poverty, and virtually compelling them to roam like vagabonds over the land,—for they cannot obtain a residence until they have given their bond with competent sureties, which it is very seldom they will be able to do. Surely we cannot have the enjoyment of liberty and freedom, unless we have the privilege of going into any community we please—of staying as long as we please, and of "pursuing after and acquiring happiness" by the same means, and on the same terms, as other people. Our constitution does not say, *all men of a certain color* are entitled to certain rights, and are born free and independent. But the expression is unlimited, and is applicable to every color, clime, and condition. **ALL** men are so born, and have the *unalienable* rights of life and liberty—the pursuit of happiness, and the acquisition and possession of wealth. According to our constitution, they have all and the same rights which others enjoy, the same right to emigrate when and where they please, and the same

right to *acquire* and *possess* property. Yet, as we have seen, our statutory enactments virtually deprive them of those rights. They make a certificate of freedom and a *penal bond*, not *moral worth* and intelligence, requisites of citizenship! They require a penal bond of five hundred dollars, with two or more freehold sureties, that they will never offend against the law,—and that, in spite of the infirmities of age and the pressure of disease or casualties, they should be able to support themselves. Few amongst the whites would be able to obtain sureties on such conditions, and much less the blacks, who are strangers and pennyless, and against whose race there exists a general prejudice. As if to complete the disabilities of the blacks, and to render their lot unsupportable in Ohio, in the 3d Section we find all white persons forbid hiring or harboring the blacks, unless they have complied with the above mentioned requisitions of the statutes. This enactment cuts off the last hope of the refugee from Southern oppression. By it he is denied the poor privilege of working for his daily bread, and the white, who extends to him the common rites of hospitality, or performs the duties of Christian charity, is liable to a prosecution for *harboring* him, unless he has the requisite securities for his good behavior and support. Can there be a more flagrant and unjustifiable violation of “natural, inherent rights,” than is contained in the foregoing acts of our state legislature, or one more opposed to the spirit of our constitution?

Let us now look at the 4th Section of this Law. The former *sections* have carefully guarded the avenues through which the blacks could obtain wealth, with a vigilance worthy of a better cause. But, suppose from a fortunate concurrence of favorable circumstances they have been able to acquire property and a comfortable subsistence, this section opens a wide door for them to be deprived of it, by every unprincipled knave. It declares, that “no black or mulatto person or persons shall hereafter be sworn, or permitted to give evidence, in any court of record or elsewhere in this state, in any case depending, or matter of controversy, when either party is a white.” The unconstitutionality of this law must be apparent to every individual, as soon as he turns to our state constitution, and reads in the 7th Sec. 8th Art. these words: “That all courts shall be open, and *every person*, for any injury done him, in his lands, goods, person, or reputation, shall have remedy by the due course of law, and right and justice administered without *denial or delay*. But of what avail is this to the black? His property may be taken away, his person assailed by the hand of violence, and his reputation blasted by the foul breath of calumny; and, unless he can produce a *white* witness, provided his injurer is white, he can have no redress. Is not this a palpable violation of our constitution?

Before leaving this subject, your committee wish to take another view of this law, which will show its complete inconsistency with the fundamental principles of our government. It is stated, in the 2d Sec. 4th Art. of the constitution of the United States, that, “The citizens of *each* state shall be entitled to *all* the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states.” Who citizens are, is a question which

admits of some doubt. Neither the constitution of the United States, nor that of Ohio, clearly define. But the constitution of the United States, in apportioning representative and direct taxes, says, it shall be "according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding the whole number of *free* persons, including those bound to service for a number of years, and excluding indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons." From this, and the fact that *freemen* are considered citizens in other countries, it appears that all *free* persons born in and residents of the United States, with the exception of indians not taxed, are citizens, and as such, are entitled, in every state to all the privileges and immunities of citizens of these states,—and inasmuch as no state can pass any law, in contravention of the laws of the United States, which shall be binding upon any individual; we hence infer, that those enactments, in the Ohio legislature, imposing disabilities upon the free blacks, emigrating from other states, *are entirely unconstitutional.*

There is another law, bearing date 1831, which your committee will briefly notice. In the 25th section, 8th article, of our State Constitution, we find it declared, "That no laws shall be passed to prevent the poor, of the several townships and counties in this state, from an *equal* participation in the schools, academies, colleges, and universities in this state, which are endowed, in whole or in part from the revenue arising from donations made by the United States, for the support of colleges and schools, and the doors of said schools, academies, and universities *shall be open* for the reception of scholars, students, and teachers, of every grade, without any distinction or preference whatever."

From this article of our state constitution, it would appear that *all, without any distinction*, were entitled to the privileges of our common schools, so far as they are endowed, in whole or in part, by the revenue arising from donations by the United States. But notwithstanding this clear and unqualified declaration, and the indisputable fact of the United States having set apart the sixteenth section of land in each originally surveyed township, as a donation for the express purpose of endowing and supporting common schools; yet, when we turn to the statute book we find that colored children are excluded. We find it enacted, "That, when any appropriation shall be made by the directors of any school district from its treasury thereof for the payment of a teacher, the school in such district, shall be open to all the *white* children residing therein, etc."

Is this statute unconstitutional or is it not?

Your committee will spend no further time in examining "the laws of Ohio," but will proceed to inquire into the *influence* of these laws. This subject will naturally fall under the cognizance of a committee appointed to inquire into the condition of the blacks, and we will, therefore, dismiss it with a few remarks. Their influence upon the blacks cannot be other than destructive to their moral and intellectual character, and their pecuniary interests. Mental debasement—moral degradation—self disrespect—unyielding prejudice on the part of the whites, and the most distressing poverty, are the natural and necessary consequences of these pernicious, unjust, and impolitic laws. In

reviewing these laws, we find all their bearings and provisions calculated to produce effects, the opposite of those for which our government was instituted,—viz: administering right and justice, and promoting industry and honesty by encouraging them, instead of which, by refusing employment to the colored man, it drives him to resort to dishonest means for his support, and invites the unprincipled white to defraud, yea to insult, to maim, and abuse and injure the black and mulatto with impunity.

With regard to the course which should be pursued for the repeal of these laws, your committee earnestly recommend, that petitions be presented to our State Legislature, and the subject urged upon their attention, until they wipe away this foul stain from the statutes of Ohio. As much as your committee would deprecate the idea of making this a party question, we would yet endeavor to impress it upon the minds of all, that in choosing our legislators we should select those who will exert their influence to remodel and purify our laws, until the last blot is washed away, and being freemen in *theory* we shall be such in *practice*.

OFFICERS OF THE OHIO ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Hon. LEICESTER KING, President, **Warren.**
Hon. ALEXANDER CAMPBELL, Vice-President. **Ripley.**

Names.

Residence.

Rev. James Gilliland,	Brown Co.
Professor Charles G. Finney,	Oberlin Theol. Sem.
Professor Asa Drury,	Greenville College.
Gen. Rees E. Price,	Hamilton Co.
Isaac Cobby M. D.	Cincinnati.
Hon. Francis Dunlavy,	Warren Co.
Col. William Keys,	Highland Co.
David Long, M. D.	Cayahoga Co.
Elizur Wright, Esq.	Portage Co.
Richard Long,	Ross Co.
Nathan Galbraith,	Columbiana Co.
Col. James Stewart,	Fayette.
Abraham Baer,	Stark Co.
William N. Hudson, M. D.	Geauga.
Maj. Samuel Denny,	Circleville.
Orestes K. Hawley, M. D.	Ashtabula Co.
Levi Whipple, Esq.	Muskingum.
J. S. Waugh, M. D.	Butler Co.
Rev. William Sloane,	Harrison Co.
Rev. Daniel Miller,	Seneca Co.

Corresponding Secretary.

Albert A Guthrie.

Recording Secretary,

James C. Brown, M. D.

Treasurer,

Albert G. Allen

Putnam.

MANAGERS.

Hon. James Wilson,
Hugh Smart, Esq.
President Mahan,
Harmon Kingsbury, Esq.,

Rev. C. B. McKee,
Thomas Fowler M. D. }
William Donaldson,

Rev. Dyer Burgess,
Rev. Henry Cowles,
Rev. Jacob Coon,
John B. Mahan,
Thomas Hibben,
Rev. Alexander Rankin,
Manasseh Baer,
Samuel Galloway,
Rev. John Hunt,
Armor McFarland,
James Hambleton,
Johnathan Whitehead,
Rev. P. L. McAboy,
John Walker,
James D. Ludlow, Esq.
William Lewis,
Rev. Luke DeWitt,
Robert Bell,
Rev. John Walker,
Rev. Everton Judson,
Ward W. Beebe,
Joseph Rigs,
William W. Bancroft, M. D.
Rev. John B. Johnson,
Rev. John Monteith,
Archibald Stewart,
Timothy Hudson, Esq.
Charles Dungan,
James A. Shield, Esq.
Stephen H. Guthrie,
Maj. Horace Nye,
John S. Lewis,
Rev. John Wallace,
Milton B. Cushing,
Rev. Robert V. Rogers,
Rev. Gamaliel C. Beaman,
Rev. Warren Isham,

Steubenville.
 Greenville.
 Oberlin Col. Institute.
 Cleveland.

Cincinnati.

Adams Co.
 Ashtabula Co.
 Belmont Co.
 Brown Co.
 Clinton Co.
 Claremont Co.
 Carrol Co.
 Clark Co.
 Champaign Co.
 Coshocton Co.
 Columbiana Co.
 Franklin Co.
 Gallia Co.
 Gurnsey Co.
 Hamilton Co.
 Harrison Co.
 Hocking Co.
 Holmes Co.
 Harrison Co.
 Huron Co.
 Knox Co.
 Lawrence Co.
 Licking Co.
 Logan Co.
 Loraine Co.
 Madison Co.
 Medina Co.
 Monroe Co.
 Montgomery Co.
 Morgan Co.
 Muskingum Co.
 Do.
 Do.
 Perry Co.
 Pickaway Co.
 Pike Co.
 Portage Co.

Rev. Peter H. Galladay,
Col. Robert Stewart,
Goodsell Buckingham,
Rev. Timothy M. Hopkins,
Samuel McCollock.
Reveries Bidwell Esq.
Daniel H. Buel,

Preble Co.
Ross Co.
Richland Co.
Stark Co.
Shelby Co.
Trumbull Co.
Washington Co.

FRIDAY, 25TH APRIL.

The convention met at 8 o'clock, pursuant to adjournment. The President in the chair. Prayer was offered by the Rev. Mr. FUTLER-
TON, of Chillicothe.

Resolved, That the establishment of a paper in one of the Western slave holding states, maintaining the doctrine of immediate emancipation, without expatriation, would greatly promote the abolition of slavery.

James G. Binrey, Esq., having signified his intention to commence the publication of such a paper, about the first of August next, and having read a prospectus for the same, to the convention,

On motion of Mr. Kingsbury,

Resolved, That this convention approve of the plan and prospectus of Mr. Birney, and request him to forward said prospectus to each of its members, that they may assist in giving circulation to his paper.

On motion of Kingsbury,

Resolved, That the thanks of this convention be presented to the citizens of Putman, for the kindness and hospitality which they have extended to the members of this convention.

Rev. Mr. Fenn, from the committee on the AMERICAN SLAVE TRADE, made a report, which was amended and adopted.

REPORT ON AMERICAN SLAVE TRADE.

THE Committee on the American Slave Trade respectfully present the following:

What is meant by the American Slave Trade? We answer, a trade in slaves, in which American citizens engage—which they prosecute on the lands and waters of this republic; in which husbands and wives, parents and children, are torn asunder; in which the horrors of the middle passage are realized; in which human rights are outraged; in which American capital is largely employed—which American laws and American customs are made to sanction; and which many professing Christians and clergymen encourage, by their purchases and their sales.

But, is it so? Does such a trade exist in this land of boasted freedom, when, in public legislation, we have joined with the civilized world in declaring—that the traffic in slaves (on the African coast) is piracy?

Are these United States thus guilty, thus disgraced, by a traffic so abominable—so utterly at war with all our professions as republicans and as Christians?

These questions we are compelled, with shame and indignation, to answer in the affirmative. It is even so. The American Slave Trade, or, if another name *can* be more appropriate, the *United States Slave Trade*, is carried on with increased activity, by sea and land; and more than one hundred thousand human beings are now, every year, its wretched victims.

Oh! this trade in the bodies and souls of men!—So execrable on the pagan coast of Africa—but sanctioned by law and custom on the shores of free, enlightened America! It presents one of the horrid features of American slavery. In its prosecution, avarice, lust, and despotic cruelty, find unrestrained indulgence.

Facts exist in great abundance, which prove, beyond a doubt, that the Slave Trade, as now carried on in these United States, does not differ essentially from the reprobated African Slave Trade:

"In its great and leading characteristics, it is the same. It is commenced and attended in its progress by the same heart breaking separations from kindred, friends, and home—the same terror, anguish, and despair. It is conducted with the same violence," man stealing, "and, in cases of resistance or pursuit, with murder and massacre, as in Africa; and it is unquestionably accompanied with more fraud than was ever perpetrated on the African coast."—*D. L. Child's Report, New England Society.*

But some may say—How *extensive* is this wickedness? Is it not on a small *scale*?

We answer—No. If we could take our stand on an eminence sufficiently commanding, we might see *coffles of slaves* collecting in the district of Columbia, in Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee, to be taken to the great southern market.

From these slave states, we might behold three great routes, crowded with wretched, despairing victims—the Atlantic, the western and the inland. On the Atlantic—lo! vessels in the several ports, taking in cargoes of slaves, to go on the ocean to New Orleans. On the western route very many of the steam boats on the Ohio and the Mississippi, crowded with slaves for some market; and, on the inland route, large companies loaded with chains, driven down through Kentucky, Tennessee, and Mississippi.

In 1833 a single firm in the district of Columbia exported one thousand victims, and in 1834 a still larger number. Other firms in the district of Columbia are engaged in the same traffic. Some of them have kept two vessels in constant employment.

"On the western and inland routes, slaves are taken down in companies of from twenty to five hundred."—*H. B. Stanton's Letter.*

We have reason to believe, the American Slave Trade, as prosecuted on the waters of the Atlantic, supplies New-Orleans, from American ports, with no less than 20,000 slaves annually; 10,000 more are carried down on that route, who never see New Orleans; 20,000 more

are taken down by land, and on the western waters—making a total of 50,000.

This is asserted of years previous to '34. During that year the number, it is believed, exceeded 100,000; and there are causes which do and will conspire to increase the demand for slaves in the south for some time to come.

To this should be added the facts, that Americans, contrary to express "stipulations, are introducing slaves into the Texas; that southern planters and politicians are making confident calculations upon the Texas as a future market for slaves; and that many persons in the slave states believe that if the planters cannot sell *annually* some slaves, to make up the deficiency of income from their agriculture, they would be obliged to abandon immediately so bad a system of labor."—*Childs' Report*. The continuance, therefore, of slavery in several of the states must, in an important sense, be charged to the American Slave Trade. Such a trade, to such an extent, is carried on by the citizens of this free republic.—*Idea from Childs*.

But, in what *manner* is this traffic conducted?

It can be told in few words. It is characterized by unmingled cruelty. There are hosts of facts on this point:

"The owners and sailors, who are taking cargoes of slaves from ports in Maryland and Virginia to New-Orleans, treat them most unmercifully, beating them—sometimes literally knocking them down on the deck—sometimes locking them up whole days and nights in the hold."—*Stanton's Letter*.

"In the droves, which are marched from the prisons and slave factories to the vessels, no one is allowed to address a bystander of any color or condition. A gentleman of respectable character attempted to enquire into the particulars of the case of a woman, who, as she was passing along in the drove, cried out, that she was free, and had been kidnapped; but the soul driver rode up, drew his pistols, and compelled him to desist."—*Childs' Report*.

In this accursed traffic nothing is thought, either by the sellers or purchasers, of separating husbands from their wives, and parents from their children.

Indeed, the anguish, wailing and despair; "the weeping, with agony intense, over ties broken and hopes destroyed," [*Stanton's Letter*] occasioned by this traffic, are indescribable.

And when shall these scenes of wickedness and misery cease? When shall the American Slave Trade, like the *African Slave Trade*, be denounced by our government, and those engaged in it punished as pirates?

Why should the man, who engages in the Slave Trade in Africa, be denounced by common consent as a pirate, and declared by law to be worthy of death, while the man who engages in the Slave Trade in America is covered by the shield of the law?

Of what strange inconsistency is the American government guilty? Protect a man *here*, while doing a certain act; but, if he does the same thing in Africa, *hang him*; and hang him as one of the most detestable wretches—hang him as a pirate!!

It is true, the character of a trader or soul driver, as he is called, is odious even in the slave states, and in no measured terms is he denounced as infamous, by many who hold slaves. But, why pour all the vials of wrath on the soul driver—on him, who buys slaves to sell again?

What does he do more than to exercise as plain a right in *buying*, as they do in *selling*? If the slave holders have a right to *sell*, has not he a right to *buy*? Why then accuse *him*, and not the slave holder? And then, why accuse the slave holder? Has not a man a right to *sell* whatever he has a right to *hold* as property?

We now ask the friends of the Lord Jesus Christ, in these United States, to look at this American Slave Trade. We are authentically informed, that professing Christians and elders, and even ministers of the Gospel, in the slave states, sell their slaves to those who buy to sell again?

Professed disciples of Jesus Christ encouraging the Slave Trade!!

Some of the slaves are pious—and yet have been sold by their **CHRISTIAN** masters! What do the angels of God think when they see a professing Christian sell his Christian brother, to go and die on the sugar plantations in Louisiana!—tearing him away from his wife and children! To-day sitting with him at the Lord's table, and to-morrow receiving for him \$500, and sending him off to find an unknown grave in a distant, fatal clime!! How long shall this enormous guilt rest on the Christian Church?

And, finally, we ask the friends of American liberty to go and take their stand in that district of ten miles square, which should be sacred to freedom—where the representatives of a great and growing republic have exclusive jurisdiction—where their power is complete; and where should be the head quarters of liberty!

There are the head quarters of slavery—there is the great mart for slaves; there is the place where even Congressmen procure their supply of slaves—where the public prisons, erected at the expense of the whole country, are used for the convenience of the traffic; and where, of all places in the world, not a word must be said against slavery or the American Slave Trade. That is the great thoroughfare of slaves—the great exchange, licensed by the corporation [See March No. of the A. S. Record]; and not another government on earth, even the most despotic, has in its capitol a trade in human flesh going on so briskly, or to which it affords such facilities.

The names of these men in congress, who compose the committee on the district of Columbia, ought to be held up to universal disapprobation, for their persevering attempts to smother the voice of the people, by taking no notice of the petitions which were placed in their hands.

The votes of the free states in congress are sufficiently numerous to abolish at once Slavery and the Slave Trade in the district of Columbia.

And it is our solemn conviction that the people of the free states will be held responsible by the God of heaven, if it is not done.

Let petitions, therefore, be early prepared and circulated, and poured into congress, until the members see clearly that the people call loudly for, and will be satisfied with nothing short, of the immediate unqualified abolition of Slavery and the Slave Trade in the district of Columbia.

The committee recommend the adoption of the following resolution :

Resolved, As the opinion of this convention, that the American Slave Trade is equally atrocious in the sight of God with the African Slave Trade. That it equally involves the guilt of man stealing and robbery ; and is equally worthy to be denounced and treated as piracy, and those who carry it on, or encourage it by purchase or sale, as enemies of the human race.*

All which is respectfully submitted.

On motion of Mr. Stanton, it was

Resolved, That the Anti-Slavery Societies, in this state, be requested to become auxiliary to this society, and to make their report immediately to the corresponding secretary.

On motion of Rev. Mr. Monteith,

Resolved, That we view with high admiration the efforts of British philanthropists to banish slavery from the world, and bid those gentlemen who have come from that country to unite with their American brethren in removing the evil from thisre public, a hearty welcome.

On motion of Mr. Lewis,

Resolved, That the proceedings of this convention be printed, and a copy forwarded to every member.

The committee to nominate delegates to represent the Ohio State Anti-Slavery Society, at the next annual meeting, of the Anti-Slavery Society in New York city, in May next, reported by Mr. Philo Wright, their chairman, the names of the following gentlemen :

JACOB AUSTIN, of Ashtabula,
H. B. STANTON, of Hamilton,
THOMAS PENNICK, of Columbia,
REV. D. BURGESS, of Adams,
A. A. GUTHRIE, of Mushingum,
H. LYMAN, of Hamilton,
REV. H. BUSHNELL, of Hamilton.

On motion of Mr. Bidwell,

Resolved, That the executive committee be requested to prepare a petition to the Legislature of Ohio, praying for the repeal of all laws imposing disabilities upon colored citizens.

On motion of Mr. Alcott,

Resolved, That at this crisis, it is the peculiar duty of the friends of abolition, to contribute liberally for its advancement according to their ability.

On motion of Rev. Mr. Monteith,

Resolved, That it be recommended to local societies to procure and circulate the Anti-Slavery Record and other well written tracts on the subject of slavery, as far as they may be able.

* Resolutions nearly the same as in Childs' Report.

On motion of Mr. Hiram Wilson,

Resolved, That we earnestly request the co-operation of the ladies of Ohio in our efforts to procure the abolition of slavery, in the District of Columbia.

On motion of Mr Birney,

Resolved, That the executive committee of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society, be a committee with discretionary power, to publish the proceedings of this convention.

After prayer by Mr. Weld, the convention adjourned, sine die.

ROBERT STEWART, President.

ELIZUR WRIGHT, }
WILLIAM KEYS, } Vice-Presidents.

HENRY B. STANTON, }
TIMOTHY HUDSON, } Secretaries.
JAMES T. CLAYPOLE, }

APPENDIX.

Ludlow Station, April 17th, 1835.

DEAR SIR :

The invitation you were so kind as to extend to me, was duly received. I regret that circumstances beyond my control will prevent my attending the convention. To have been able to record my name with those who advocate the doctrine of the immediate abolition of slavery, without expatriation, would have given me sincere pleasure. I further regret the necessity of my absence, because I had purposed to offer to the consideration of the convention, a resolution of this purport : That slavery in the District of Columbia, is a national violation of our professions as republicans, a national violation of our professions as friends of humanity, and of our professions as a religious people ; that therefore patriotism, philanthropy, and justice demands its immediate abolishment.

I hope the convention will adopt a resolution of this character. It will be an expression of truth, from which the most fastidious opponents of immediate emancipation, (if they will reason fairly for a moment) cannot dissent. Impartial examination on their part would suggest various and forcible reasons for their acquiescence in the sentiment.

If patriotism be their boast, if they glory in the honor and prosperity of their native land, how can they be consistent in lending their countenance to a system, which most perniciously affects every important interest of their country. Has not the existence of slavery amongst us, subjected us to the ridicule and reproaches of the whole civilized world ? Has it not diminished our effective force as a nation, and is it not confessedly preying now on the fairest portions of our country ? Has it not greatly promoted, and in many instances given rise to, a state of things, and to a spirit altogether inimical to that political equalization of feeling and condition which is essential to the perpetuity of genuine republicanism ? And is it not at this time the principle source of the discontent and dissension between certain sections of our Union ? Perhaps liberty may be their idol ; they, in common with ourselves, profess to believe that all men have an unalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and that all human governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. Does our practice conform to our professions ? Can we, as a nation, declare that we all do enjoy that right, that there is no class among us that is not governed by its own consent ? If such be our declaration, facts have already stamped it with the brand of falsehood. Slavery does exist amongst us, even under the national banner, that floats over the capitol of the nation. *Yes these men* are bought, and sold, and shackled, and driven whithersoever avarice may dictate. Is this our regard to unalienable right ? Are we prepared to glory in such traffic as honorable to freemen ?

Is it not time, to take a decided stand on this great question ? Is it not time that we should inform our brethren in the south, that the capital of our nation shall no longer be degraded into a mart for the sale of human flesh ; that a sense of humanity and honor, a regard to principle and the cause of freedom throughout the world, enforce it as a duty, solemn and imperative, that slavery, in the district, should be immediately abandoned ? *Here* it is we have a constitutional right to interfere with the subject ; secure as the slave states deem themselves by the constitution, in the District of Columbia there is no constitutional guarantee of the unfounded right of slave holders. Let then every patriot, philanthropist, and Christian, unite their energies against this accursed system ; the existence of slavery in the District of Columbia, characterizes the United States as a slave holding nation, and involves the whole of its citizens in its guilt and disgrace ; East, West, North and South should awake, and petition Congress for the passage of a law, abolishing the system, wherever it exists under its jurisdiction.

The disrespectful disposition made of previous memorials on this subject, may induce the question, where is the advantage of petitions, if they be sent but to be treated with contemptuous silence ? This very fact should arouse the people of the United States. We have a constitutional right to petition, and it is the duty of our representatives to listen respectfully. But when we find petitions remaining unnoticed session after ses-

sion, no report, either for good or for evil, being made upon their contents, it behoves us to look to it, that the precedents once established of disregarding petitions for the benefit of others, are not followed by a disregard of petitions in our own behalf.

Let them rise en masse and memorialise Congress; let them represent to this body, that having already rendered it piratical to traffic in negroes on the coast of Africa, yet by tolerating the traffic within a territory under its exclusive control, it practically justifies the slave trade; and that prohibiting by law the importation of negroes as slaves, and yet, permitting by law, their deportation as slaves, displays a most palpable and absurd inconsistency.

The inquiry may be made, is it expedient to petition for the abolishment of slavery *now*? would it not be better to wait until the mind of the community is further enlightened? would not an attempt to abolish it, be attended with more evil than its continuance? Our republican nation professes to be guided by principles; the flag of our country was consecrated to principle, by the blood of our fathers of the Revolution; the moral sense of the community prompts all to action; let us as a nation act consistent. Is slavery in the district to be perpetual, or, is it to be abolished? Will a time ever arrive that will be more propitious for the introduction of the subject than the present? Facts prove to us the reverse; every year the subject assumes a more fearful aspect, the rapid increase of slaves (80,000 per annum,) the preponderance of the slave interest, the increasing sensitiveness manifested by those of that interest, will render a contact with the system more difficult and dangerous, the longer it is procrastinated; *now* is the time for the exertion of moral influence; *now* is the time to demonstrate the first principles of moral truth, that every man owns himself; that one class of men have no right to own the bodies and the minds of another class, and that therefore, men are not property, and that to insist on the abolition of slavery is not infringing on the right of property; rouse up public sentiment against the doctrine, that man can hold property in man, and convince it that the principle that will authorise those slave dealers in Washington city (see National Intelligencer) to place their foot on the neck of one man, authorise them to place their foot on your neck; yes sir, let the people stamp with the seal of reprobation, the doctrine, that men who have not forfeited their liberty by crime, are to be held as goods and chattels, or sold as merchandize, or that Shylock has a right to his pound of flesh; let them do this, let them flood Congress with petitions, until slavery in the district shall be abolished.

If we desire that the sun of universal freedom should ever rise unclouded; if we wish to witness a total abandonment of the system of slavery throughout the United States; in the District of Columbia the first effort is to be made. *Here*, sir, lies the East; *there* the glorious sun of life and hope, is to send forth his beams over the whole Union; proud pinnacle, where she would be to the world a true guiding star, replete with the promise of happiness and joy. But, we are gravely informed, that "slavery is a delicate question;" with those who conscientiously believe so, I sympathise. I know how to appreciate their feelings. Philanthropy, regard to religion or morality, prompt them to abandon the inhuman principle, that man can hold property in man, and yet they imagine themselves under circumstances, which compel them to maintain in practice, what they abhor in principle. To them, it is truly a "delicate question;" an investigation into the difference in the moral obliquity, of purchasing a negro, or holding a slave on the coast of Africa, (which is piratical by the laws of the United States,) and purchasing a negro, or holding him a slave in the District of Columbia, which is legalized by the laws of the United States, renders it truly a delicate question. But, that it is "a delicate question" from other considerations, it cannot be admitted. It is said, that the discussion of the subject will "endanger the union." "Endanger the union" forsooth; those whose minds are so impressed with this objection, can see no cause of alarm in the violation of the principles of our Declaration of Independence, in the violation of the principles of humanity and justice, incident to the practice of slavery; the cry, you will "dissolve the union," would come with more propriety from the other side. If the union is to be dissolved, it will be because of the existence of slavery, not because of its abolishment. Immediate emancipation, I conceive, rests our only safety. Again it is urged, that citizens of the free states, have no right to promulgate anti-slavery sentiments; what! are men to be debarred of speech, are they to be denounced because they exercise this unalienable right, a right based upon a more eminent title than the union of the states, and confirmed by the constitution? When we witness the violation of this fundamental principle of our government, then may we look for the prostration and abandonment of all that is dear in American citizens. The portentous rumbling of the storm of brute force, against free discussion, argument, and reason, is one of the most appalling signs of the times; a disposition to substitute turmoil for law, and physical force for argument, is no longer of uncommon occurrence.

Again it is said, that in the train of emancipation, will be found war and bloodshed. The history of the past, and the experience of our own duty, prove that these predictions

are but the dreams of ignorance. Indeed, what other feeling can be elicited from the human breast, than gratitude, when presented with the boon of freedom.

It is said, the "slaves are contented and happy;" can it be possible, that human nature, stripped of all the rights and attributes of humanity, is contented and happy? if so, it is a proof of the horrible effects of slavery; what, fallen so low as to forget they are men, and be satisfied with their own degradation? Then slavery has indeed done her worst, and it becomes the sacred duty, of national philanthropy to break the spell that has converted men into brutes; and the first step is, for these United States, to declare to the negro, that he is a human being; we have proclaimed it to the world, in our laws defining piracy, but we have not as a nation proclaimed it to the negro at home. It is a melancholy truth, that a long continued system of oppression, will, in time, change the character of mind. The natural effect of slavery, is to obliterate affection, obtuse the intellect, increase the animal propensities, and destroy the moral feelings. When the avenues to knowledge are closed, and encouragement to the active exercise of the intellect, withheld, the mind sinks down in darkness and death; but, relieve it from oppression, hold forth stimulant to action, then from its native elasticity, it will rise, from the valley to the hills, from the hills to the mountains, and from thence to the skies.

I have extended this communication farther than may be deemed requisite, but my apology is, that slavery in the United States, is a subject of living interest, and is calculated to impart, to those who inquire into it, a vivifying energy, that extends wider and deeper as it is investigated: our nation's character, her future glory, yea her very existence, I believe, is dependent upon the successful issue of abolition principles.

Yours respectfully,

JAMES LUDLOW.

Extract of a Letter from Professor DRURY, of the Baptist Seminary, Granville :

Granville, April 21, 1835.

DEARLY BELOVED BROTHER :

I shall not be able to meet you and my other friends at Putnam. It is a matter of regret to me; but the situation of my family seems to forbid it. My thoughts will be with you, and I trust my prayers will ascend to the throne of our Heavenly Father, that he will preside over your deliberations, and give you wisdom to adapt those measures, which are best adapted to roll forward the tide of *immediate emancipation* till it shall overflow every part of this contaminated land. I believe this cause to be not only the cause of human right, but also of God. I therefore hope, that a spirit of prayer and humble reliance on Him, whose we are, and whom we serve, may be felt by every member of the convention.

With a brother's heart and a brother's love,

I bid you God speed,

ASA DRURY.

Extract of a Letter from President MAHAN, Oberlin Collegiate Institute, * * * *

DEAR SIR :

The principles which have brought you together, and which will be proclaimed through your convention to the world, my heart leaps forth to recognise and hail as the principles of eternal truth and rectitude—as the fundamental principles of God's government

* * * *

I know of no body of men with whom I should be more willing to suffer reproach and persecution even than with those who are engaged in pleading the cause of the oppressed

* * * *

Sir, I am an abolitionist. In every station and relation in life, I would be known as such, while a single slave groans beneath the oppressor's yoke, or bleeds beneath the oppressor's scourge.

Property in man! I will not attempt the utterance of the feelings awakened in my mind by such a thought. We shall soon stand as disembodied spirits in the presence of our Judge. Who would be willing to meet a human being there with such reflections as these. "That fellow man, made in the image of God, I treated as a beast. I called him my property. I took from him the key of knowledge. Reckless of the ties which bound

him to wife and children, kindred, country, and Heaven, I sundered those ties—I sold him, his wife, and children, like cattle, and his and their unrequited labors, by which I was supported in idleness and luxury, now call for the retributions of eternal justice upon my head.”

It is to save the slave holder from such a doom, and the slave from such inflictions, that you are now convened. God will bless your deliberations.

The reason why I am not with you is, that I am called to indispensable duties in a neighboring state.

With my most fervent prayers for the Divine blessing upon the convention,

I am sincerely yours,

A. MAHAN.

Extract of a Letter from Gen. REES E. PRICE :

Hamilton Co., April 16, 1835.

DEAR SIR :

* * * May God prosper a cause on which depend the dearest interests of this republic, and the permanency of the union and our republican institutions.

It would have given me great pleasure to attend the session of the convention, had it been in my power. The state of my health, together with my private business, utterly precludes the idea of attending. * * *

I am, dear sir, sincerely your friend,

REES E. PRICE.

Extract of a Letter from Dr. T. S. TOWLER, of Cincinnati :

Cincinnati, April 30, 1835.

MY DEAR FRIEND :

It would afford me great delight to have the privilege of expressing in person my opinion of what I sincerely believe to be the humane and patriotic object of the Convention, viz. : The elevation of the colored man, and also the furtherance of the Christian and philanthropic principles of equal and inalienable rights. I verily believe, we are approaching an awful crisis as a republic, and if, in this age of thought and action, common sense and common justice have a hearing at the bar of reason and truth, a public decree will go forth against the system of slavery * * *. It is lamentable that many, who are professed Christians, should labor assiduously to extenuate the sin of slavery; but the more so, when ministers of the Gospel, with the admission of its being morally wrong, shall be pleading in defence of its procrastination and delay, if not directly, yet indirectly, by the substitution of some modification of the system. I hold that, in this, the duty of immediate repentance and reformation is as binding as in any other sin. When this cause is correctly understood, I have no doubt that an overwhelming majority of those, who breathe the pure air of freedom, will come up to the help of the anti-Slavery Society. It asserts principles that are dear to every patriot and freeman, and none will have cause to fear its light, but tyrants. * * *

With the hope that the Convention will prove a blessing to those in bonds, and that unanimity and the blessing of God may attend you,

I remain your sincere friend,

THOMAS S. TOWLER.

Extract of a Letter from ISAAC COLBY, M. D. :

Cincinnati, April 11, 1835.

DEAR SIR :

I rejoice that the friends of humanity begin to awake on the subject of Slavery, and evince that they recognise the African race as human beings. Especially do I rejoice, that Christians begin to feel that they have souls, for whom our blessed Saviour died, and are our brethren, and entitled to Christian sympathy and the privileges of the Gospel.

They are often represented as debased and stupid. But it is from their intercourse with a nation professedly Christian; and in many instances with professors of religion

themselves that they have derived the darkest features of their moral character. And while they are subjected to the arbitrary control of wicked men, who use them as property, regardless that they are moral beings, and feel no human responsibility for their conduct towards them, they cannot be otherwise than debased.

If they are stupid, it is because they are borne down by oppression and subdued, and feel that their bondage is hopeless and interminable. But let this hope once be lighted up in the breast of the colored man—that the curse of slavery and its disgrace will, for ever, be blotted from his race, and his mind will expand. He will respect himself, and feel that he is a man, and has a character to sustain. Does any one doubt that the colored man has a mind susceptible of culture, let him visit the Sabbath schools and day schools in Cincinnati, and witness the avidity with which instruction is received—the marks of genius sometimes displayed, and the rapidity with which many of the students improve, and his doubts will cease. A new impulse has become already apparent in the African character here, since the effort recently commenced on their behalf.

As a nation, we owe them much. We have stolen them, and bound them in chains of slavery, and exacted their labor without wages, and in defiance of a precept of our Lord, that “what God hath joined together let not man put asunder,” the master has profaned or disannulled at his option the sacred ties of family union; and what constitutes the worst feature in the whole system of slavery, and stamps it with a guilt that can have no apology is—that it is so inconsistent with the doctrines of the Gospel, that every avenue to a knowledge of the Word of Life has been closed, and the poor slave has gone down to the grave in ignorance of a Saviour, for fear it would excite insubordination. The philanthropic and Christian community are but just beginning to consider the subject, and need information. Facts must be presented, and the subject pressed upon the conscience, and a correct public sentiment produced. And this, I suppose, is the object of the formation of your association. It will be a meeting of deep interest. You have my prayers that the Lord will be with you, and direct you, and succeed your efforts. I regret that I cannot attend, but am willing to do any thing in my power to remove from this land, a sin the enormity of which is without a parallel.

Yours, affectionately,

ISAAC COLBY.

Extract of a Letter from MILTON SUTLIFF, Esq., Warren, Trumbull Co.:

* * * * *
Respecting your *reasonable* expectation of seeing me at the Convention, dear Sir, it is with deep regret that I have to say, *circumstances* beyond my control are like to prevent my doing myself the pleasure of discharging what, in other circumstances, I should regard as an imperative duty. I do feel that every heart of the few friends of this cause should leap at the signal for concentrated action, and that the word should be followed by prompt and unanimous effort. * * * *

I am not concerned lest there should be a failure for lack of numbers. There will be a sufficient number to do a more honorable and glorious work than ever was done in the state of Ohio.

Nor can I feel that I have a right to fear, on the part of any individuals, the letting down of the standard of principle, in order to gain friends to the cause; and yet I am well aware that the neutralizers on this important subject will watch for nothing with so much avidity. There are many ashamed to advocate the degradation of our colored brethren to the lowest rank of being, who would join the advocates of his manhood in urging the importance of his elevation, provided it might be to a privileged rank or a higher order of brutes, rather than to a level with human beings.

These profess to kindle with sympathy for the sufferings of the poor *slave*, but really kindle with anger when the appellation *man* is given to the negro. I am one who believes in the efficacy and omnipotence of truth in this cause.

I trust, on this subject, and on this and every occasion, there may be no desire on the part of any individual to increase the quantity by increasing the dimness of the pure gold. A little beam of truth will lighten the whole lump sooner than a mass of error.

With my whole soul I wish God speed to the cause.

MILTON SUTLIFF

Extract of a Letter from ORESTES K. HAWLEY, M. D., of Austinburg:

DEAR SIR:

I regret exceedingly that circumstances are such that it will not be consistent for me to attend the Anti-Slavery Convention, to be held at Zanesville on the 22d inst. But, although I cannot be there personally, my whole soul will be with you; and I pray that the blessing of God may rest on every member of the convention, and that the wisdom, which is from above, may guide them in the holy cause. * *

I trust the convention will not rise without taking effectual measures to have an Anti-Slavery Society formed in every county in the state as soon as practicable, and before the sitting of the next legislature, and also to have petitions thoroughly circulated in every township for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and for the repeal of our cruel statutes respecting black and mulatto persons.

O. K. HAWLEY.

Extract of a Letter from Rev. E. B. Mc KEE, of Cincinnati:

* * * * *

Slavery is inconsistent with the laws of nature, the doctrines of the Bible, and the social and moral welfare of man. It is a stain upon the name of Christianity, and an incongruity in our government, which lays it down as a *fundamental principle*, that "all men are created equal;" that "they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

If the Bible is true, it is morally certain that the slaves of our country, and of all other countries, will be free. Prophecy tells us, that "Ethiopia shall stretch out her hands unto God," and I believe that period is at hand, when all the afflicted and maltreated sons and daughters of Ethiopia shall enjoy the privileges and blessings of freemen in their fullest extent * * *

Let slavery be abolished—forever abolished—by one simultaneous act upon the part of the slaveholder, the community, and the nation, in her national capacity; and then, as men and as Christians, let us take the fallen sons and daughters of Ham under our fostering care. Let us teach them industry and economy, arts, science, literature, religion, and self government. Then will they stand in every respect upon a footing with the proudest and best in proportion as they equal them in virtue and morality.

Let us plead the cause of abolition—let us reason, explain, preach, and pray, till the eyes of the community are entirely open upon this subject—a subject that is fraught with the happiness of millions yet unborn.

I would consider it both an honor and a privilege to be with you on the occasion of your expected meeting, were it compatible with my domestic affairs. But, as I cannot, I send you these brief remarks instead. It would gratify me much, were a similar meeting to be held in Cincinnati, or, at least, if a society could be formed here. I would use my utmost efforts to organise and sustain such a praiseworthy association.

May the Lord of Hosts, in whose hands are our lives, and the success of all our well meant efforts, preside over your deliberations and direct you to those measures, means, and results, that may conduce to the glory of His name, and the present and future welfare of the oppressed, for whose welfare you meet in convention.

Thus prays yours, sincerely, in the cause of the oppressed,

C. B. McKEE.